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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 December 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HOLD CONFERENCE ON CRIMINALITY

Problems of Recidivism Outlined

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 9 Oct 85 pp 1,3

[Article: "Recidivous Crime: Incompatible with the Socialist Way of Life"]

[Text] From 1 through 3 October of this year, in the F. J. Curie international house of scholars at the Druzhba resort complex in Varna, the 15th traditional criminalistic symposium of socialist countries was held; this time it was devoted to the struggle against recidivous criminality. Around 150 specialists took part from 11 countries: Vietnam, German Democratic Republic, People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. Each of the delegations gave a report on the main topic. Also included were 26 scholarly communications.

The delegations from the militias of the socialist countries took their places at the green tables arranged in a square, by the pennants of their nations. The introductory speech was given by candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Minister of Internal Affairs General Dimitur Stoyanov. Also present were the chief prosecutor of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Kostadin Lyutov, the president of the Supreme Court, Associate Professor Ivan Velinov, the vice directors of the Social and National Security Section of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party Generals Todor Radulov and Georgi Krustev, and the mayor of Varna, engineer Khristo Toshkov.

The first report, "The Condition, Structure and Dynamics of Recidivous Criminality in Bulgaria and the Work of the Organs of the People's Militia in Its Struggle Against It," was read by General Ivan Dimitrov, the vice minister for internal affairs and director of the People's Militia. We can be proud that we live in a nation with one of the lowest levels of crime in the world. But we should not close our eyes to certain negative changes in the operational conditions, on which recidivous criminality has a certain influence, because it is precisely those people who have often stepped over the bounds of the law who carry the baton of criminal experience and morality. Indeed, the number of recidivists found guilty in 1984 per 100,000 inhabitants is almost 2 times lower than in comparison with the pre-war level in 1939. But it is also true that the recidivist is a rather tough nut.

It has been established that the conditioning factors have a greater effect in the more developed urban life of the capital, resort centers, industrial areas, and large cities. Recidivists from all populated areas go there (and now such movement is very easy). This is why it is necessary to have a rapid, flawless system for the exchange of information and complete cooperation between the territorial units.

The changes in the People's Militia Law, adopted in 1983, expand the possibilities for effective elimination of certain pre-criminal conditions (such as idleness, for example), but what has been carried out in practice is not yet satisfactory. New forms of operative means and educational work in the place of deprivation of freedom have been successfully implemented, based on Soviet experience. During the last few years in the fight against recidivism modern technology has inevitably become important, including computer technology.

The report of the Soviet delegation was read by General Boris Zabotin, vice minister for international affairs for the USSR. The level of recidivous criminality in the Soviet Union (including that among minors) has been decreased, but that does not mean all is calm. It turns out that humanizing punitive legislation, accompanied by unskillful application in practice, can lead to negative consequences. The Soviet militia devotes special attention to active prevention of original criminality. An important reserve has been the decrease of this crime because of the struggle with drunkenness (Recently in the USSR around 60 percent of the first crimes and over two thirds of the manifestations of recidivism have been linked with the use of alcohol). Much is being done to root out idleness. This year the collegium of the USSR's Ministry of Internal Affairs approved a concrete program for each service's activity in the struggle against recidivous criminality. Special commissions were set up on the spot to carry out work in this direction.

The order of the remaining delegations' reports, presented at the symposium by their leaders, is as follows: the vice ministers of internal affairs of Hungary, General Karoy Ladvanski, of the German Democratic Republic, General Lothar Arendt, of Czechoslovakia, Colonel Dr. Pavel Van'o, of Romania, General Konstantin Nutsa, of Cuba, Brigadier General Pascual Hil, of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, General Khvan Zin Tek; the vice chief commandant of the Civil Militia of Poland, Brigadier General Zenon Tsyczinski, the first vice chief of the People's Militia of Mongolia, Colonel Zhanbalin Khurtsgerel, the vice chief for administration of the People's Militia of Vietnam, General Kao Phong.

The report of the Hungarian militia made a considerable impression with its facts and critical attitude toward its own work. Also interesting was the criminological portrait of recidivists in Hungary (and quite likely not only there): persons who in the course of their lives have deviated from the normal order of division of labor, without distant goals, people of the moment, of instinct, with superficial human ties, primarily solitary, the bearers of views which justify crime; many of them are psychopaths and have disharmonious characters.

In principle emotional materials are not characteristic for a scholarly symposium. But in Varna there were several pleasant exceptions. The social tension during the time of crisis caused by the anti-socialist forces in Poland untied the hands of recidivists. Criminal groups sprouted like mushrooms, their foul deeds becoming more and more cruel; and they displayed aggression toward the representatives of the law. A true explosion of criminality. "I want to stress that even in the most difficult period we did not wring our hands helplessly," announced General Tszczinski. Those guilty got what they deserved, although it was a bit late. In 1981 the recidivists organized the escape of 188 jailed criminals in Bygdoszcz. There was serious fear about the life, health, and possessions of the citizens. The tracking continued for more than a year, until the final fugitive was placed behind bars.

"A number of studies show that the majority of the recidivists began their careers with petty violations of the law as children, with petty theft in the family, in schools, or social places, but these went unnoticed by people around them, and thus they went unpunished." This affirmation in the report of the Czechoslovak delegation can hardly be argued, and it certainly does not apply only to that nation.

The scholarly communications of the specialists aptly complemented the main reports, since they accented separate problems: administrative supervision, legal means, re-education and resocialization, scientific-technical methods, etc.

General Istvan Konster recalled an interesting fact, connected with international tourism, the "discovery" of Hungary as a place for carrying out crimes with the assistance of local recidivists. The militia succeeded in uncovering a group which had smuggled gold jewelry into the country, with an overall weight of 30 kilograms, worth 32 million forints. In Budapest there was something new in the division of labor among criminals, the appearance of people who only "sell" ideas to criminal bands, without directly participating in the dangerous acts themselves.

A characteristic example for uncovering a series of crimes according to the way they were carried out was shared by Colonel Aleksandur Velev. Through serious study and analysis of information, the organs of the People's Militia fingered a criminal group of 25 people, which had carried out over 40 thefts by breaking into transit trains and had caused losses to the state of more than 200,000 leva.

Lively commentary among the specialists was evoked by a paper by Romanians about the use of computers in operative and expert activity within the militia.

But is a more precise forecast of such a complex phenomenon as recidivous criminality possible? The Soviet and Romanian specialists answered affirmatively, despite the fact that several listeners held certain reservations.

The papers offered new information, the listeners responded with lively commentary, arguments, agreements, disagreements, but... behind the scenes (Many participants reported that the symposium would have profited from discussion on the main topics). Session after session crystallized the common, characteristic, general traits of recidivous criminality in the various countries, the similar forms of struggling against it. And one unanimously defended finding was that the socialist worker not be permitted to be confronted with the terrifying scale of this social evil in the capitalist countries.

The last paper at the last session was read. The concluding speech was given by General Ivan Dimitrov. After that the floor was given to General Konstantin Nutsa. On behalf of the delegations, he thanked the hosts for the excellent organization and announced that the next, 16th symposium on criminal activity would take place in 1987 in Romania and would be devoted to the theme: "New Scientific-Technical Methods and Means Used in Preventing and Uncovering Crime."

There is no need to comment on the importance and current interest of this theme.

#### Interview With Soviet Official

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 9 Oct 85 p 1

[Interview with General Boris Zabotin, vice minister for internal affairs of the USSR, by NARODEN STRAZH, date and place not specified: "To the Root of Evil"]

[Text] [Question] Has there been any result yet in terms of criminality because of the new stern measures in the struggle against alcoholism?

[Answer] Active work in this direction began in May of this year, thus it is still early for a serious analysis. But despite this there are encouraging signs. Citizens are giving fewer signals of violation of the social order. During the first six months we had a decrease in criminality of around 14 percent. But the most important fact is that we have already created an extremely favorable atmosphere for the future struggle against drunkenness.

During September of this year the Central Committee of the CPSU discussed the results of applying the new measures. Certain shortcomings were pointed out, including those of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the campaign was not effective everywhere. For example, some limited themselves only to applying the administrative sanctions but ignored the form that turned out to be the most influential: widespread publicity at the time of accusation with subsequent social action.

Now we want all our services to do their part in the struggle against drunkenness. The prosecutor must not only prove that the detainee is drunk, he has to establish where, when, and how he became that way, and if there were any violations of the new regulations. The same applies to the (GAI).

In short, we are optimists, we expect good results from the attack that we have mounted against alcoholism, and these will not be only in the economic area, but also moral, and this, as we know, has a strong influence on criminality.

[Question] Is there anything new to report in the struggle against idlers?

[Answer] I must confess that we have been strongly criticized for insufficient aggression in this struggle. The question that others use is how to close off the channels of receiving unearned income, because how else could the parasite have anything to live on? This is something we are thinking about now, and not only at the militia. The question has been brought up for broad social discussion, because unearned income offends social fairness. When all of society has had a chance to speak, we will follow and take the corresponding legal measures.

[Question] Which of the symposium's material made the strongest impression on you?

[Answer] I can say that I liked all the reports and papers to a certain degree. Some of them gave me information about new experience, others made an evaluation of conditions. And all of this useful, we can check to see if we are on the right path in our efforts.

#### Problems In Vietnam Outlined

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 9 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by General Kao Phong, vice chief for administration of the People's Militia of Vietnam: "We Are Overcoming a Difficult Heritage"]

[Text] The American imperialists left a difficult heritage in the southern part of our country, especially in the area of criminality. Even now they have not stopped their diversionistic activities.

After the victory we had almost a million troops from the old puppet army on our hands. A great number of them had persistent criminal traits in their character and had no work habits. Most of our problems were created by the former sailors and members of the armed forces.

From the puppet regime we inherited as well thousands of professional criminals. Many of them had great experience and were very dangerous, because they had been members of well organized robber bands. The police at that time were not in a position to battle against them.

The war left thousands of children and young people without parents. A portion of them fell under the influence of criminal elements and turned into, as we say, "the dust of life." We are conducting re-education in agroindustrial schools, run by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but they should not be seen as colonies. We are trying to create for them a warm, friendly atmosphere, since they are children and young people without

parents. Thus, as their term of study comes to an end, some of them simply do not want to leave the school.

Many of those we have raised at the schools have become good production workers and excellent troops in the people's army, where some of them have displayed heroism. No more than 2 percent of the former students return to their old habits.

We reckon that the possibilities of our militia are modest in comparison with those of other fraternal organs and thus this symposium is a good school for us.

#### East German Official Reports

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 9 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by General Lothar Arendt, first vice minister of internal affairs for the German Democratic Republic: "Organized Assistance from Society"]

[Text] The obligations of society in the struggle against criminality, including recidivism, stem from our constitution. As of 1 September of this year a new law for local people's councils went into effect. It obliges them to develop long-term programs for the prevention of crime, well differentiated and based on exact accounting. Of course, the People's Militia gives them the necessary information.

At the enterprises and institutions they take more seriously their obligations in the struggle against crime and breaking the law. Leaders anticipate concrete measures against fires, emergencies, and better protection of socialist property. These indicators are included in the competition between the collectives.

The councils in our country also are responsible for the resocialization of persons convicted. In every concrete case the opinions of a doctor, psychologist, and sociologist are sought. Guardians are appointed at the enterprise and in the residential area, people with authority and a sense of responsibility. In this regard much success has been achieved in a steel plant in the city of Brandenburg, in the Potsdam Okrug. At the combine they have a commission for organizing and coordinating educational measures in regard to those who were released from their positions because they underwent punishment.

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BULGARIA

EDITORIAL STRESSES UNSATISFACTORY HEALTH OF SCHOOLCHILDREN

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Schools of Health"]

[Text] The care, raising, and education of the vital young generation requires the creation of conditions for a healthful way of life, starting in infancy. Medicine in schools here has a long tradition and a rich history. The party and the state display systematic, universal concern for the state of health and physical development of our children and pupils. A notable achievement of socialist health care, which places our nation alongside the leading nations of the world, is lowering the infant mortality rate. In only 40 years this rate is three times lower for children up to age one, and for larger children and pupils, it is ten times lower. There are obvious successes in lowering infectious illness (including the disappearance of certain illnesses), in the adequate health index, universal dispensing, and cure of chronically ill children and pupils, the generally good health condition of the young generation, etc.

Despite these successes, it is obvious that health care at the school age does not correspond to the increased requirements, and is not moving in step with the dynamic changes in education. Under the current organization and supply of cadres and material resources, school medicine and health care prevention are still not in a position to solve the main problem: forecasting and anticipating inevitable concerns about these needs, keeping one step ahead of them. On the other hand, medical organs do not always find support and do not always receive cooperation everywhere from school authorities when they try to solve this problem. The reorganization carried out some years ago in the school health care program diverted a large number of doctors from the education institutions and to the larger health network. This has decreased the opportunities for effective medical control over the programs.

As in most of the developed countries, we also see the following diseases in children and especially pupils predominating: acute infections of the breathing passages, functional disruption of the nerve system, spinal curvature, ocular anomalies, high blood pressure, allergies, traumas, obesity, etc. Normally people keep good records of workdays lost and temporary inability to work, but there is still no alarm about many school days being

wasted because of poor physical fitness among the pupils, who are absent in some of the transitional seasons. Here we are speaking about acute respiratory infections. The studies of the Scientific Institute for Health and Professional Illnesses at the Medical Academy show that a certain neurotic infection exists among a great number of pupils. We have established episodic complaints, such as headache, fatigue, insomnia, etc. The point of view of our scholars and foreign ones too is that 64 percent of the neuroses of adults can trace their origin to the student period and that they are closely linked to the educational process. Cross-eye problems and curvatures also have a certain link with an irrational regimen of study and rest, with an increased school load, with insufficient illumination of the pupil's work space, and poorly prepared, from the hygienic point of view, textbooks and school furniture, with a sedentary lifestyle and the lack of sufficient physical load. High blood pressure in the arteries alarms the school doctors even more.

The basic reasons for these alarming phenomena must be sought in the influence of the educational-instructional process. Studies at 44 Sofia integrated technical schools and secondary technical-vocational schools, technical high schools, language and mathematics preparatory schools have shown that one third of the weekly class schedules for pupils in grades one through three, as well as 38 to 44 percent of older pupils, for subjective reasons are not in conformance with their normal physical work capacity. At the schools with a five-day school week, we see outlined up to 6 hours of class time on certain days for pupils in grades three, four, and five, and 7 to 8 hours of class for older pupils. When we add to this the fact that only 35.8 percent of the schools in the nation have physical education facilities, 37.2 percent use available classroom space, and 27.0 percent have no covered sports area, the picture becomes clearer. "It is especially important to avoid exercises that are not well thought out or which are too abrupt and can cause serious losses in the educational-instructional process," says Comrade Todor Zhivkov. "Moving to a five-day school week should not lead to a violation of the normal rhythm of work in the educational institutions and should not take place at the expense of an additional load for the pupils..."

As they soberly analyze the pupils' physical condition and are guided by the main strategic line of the party for successfully bringing young people fully into life, the ministries of public health and public education unite their efforts and take a number of joint actions to make education more healthy and to regulate work and rest for the growing generation. What must still be done? Preventive measures must be directed toward optimizing the academic and extracurricular load, toward creating an academic and social microclimate that will spare the young people. It is more than necessary to affirm the normative acts, which will ensure much greater rights and obligations from the health organs at all levels in relation to agreement on general directions and concepts in the field of education. In the following 2 or 3 years we must see the development and application of a qualitatively new, comprehensive approach to student health, which in addition to medical services will include sport, tourism, active leisure, and fitness, with a view toward the gradual creation of schools of health, following the example of workshops of health. For this goal, it is necessary to have the cooperation of the Executive

Committee of the Okrug People's Council, school boards, the Bulgarian Union for Physical Culture and Sports and the Bulgarian Tourist Union, and the factories and enterprises included in the system for academic-professional complexes. Preserving and strengthening the health of our children and young people must become a concern and an obligation not only of the specialized organs, but of our society as a whole, of our entire nation.

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BULGARIA

R. MAXWELL: PUBLISHING MAGNATE, FRIEND OF SOCIALIST LEADERS

Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 20 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by V. As.: "Robert Maxwell"]

[Text] The name of Robert Maxwell is well known not only within the borders of Great Britain, but outside as well; he is a publisher and the president of Pergamon Press. He is also popular in Bulgaria for a number of publications about our country, which he has edited and published. A great friend of Bulgaria, R. Maxwell greatly esteems and respects Comrade Todor Zhivkov as one of the most distinguished heads of state in the world today.

R. Maxwell aspires to cooperate in the development of Bulgarian-British relations, in making our people better acquainted as the path to salvation and strengthening confidence and peace in today's complex, pressurized world. He often visits our country and speaks with sympathy and excitement about the successes of socialist Bulgaria.

Among R. Maxwell's publications, we find the book "Todor Zhivkov: Head of State and Builder of a New Bulgaria," in the World Leaders series, which appeared in a second, revised and expanded edition this summer because of the demand. In addition, the book "Lyudmila Zhivkova: Her Many Worlds, New Culture, Beauty, Ideas, and Activity" has also gone through two editions. R. Maxwell is one of the founders of the Lyudmila Zhivkova international fund and one of its officers. A great possession of millions of readers in the English-speaking world is the delux encyclopedia edition, "Information Bulgaria," as well as other publications.

Robert Maxwell was born in Czechoslovakia on 10 June 1923. He came from a poor rural family. Barely 15 years old, he joined the illegal anti-fascist movement. In his first battle with the occupiers, he was severely wounded and taken prisoner, but he managed to flee through France to Great Britain. As an 18-year old, he was able to volunteer for the British Army. In the fighting in Normandy, he displayed extreme bravery.

The young man's difficult life did not permit him to continue his education after grammar school. But he was very ambitious and educated himself. He speaks nine foreign languages very well. By now he has traveled around 5 million miles and visited almost all the countries of the world. He is

personally acquainted with many world leaders. He lives in Oxford; his family is quite large, since he has seven children.

Robert Maxwell began his career as a publisher in 1951 as the owner of a small company with five journals. It grew into the publishing house called Pergamon Press, which he owns and heads. Today Pergamon Press publishes 500 new titles annually. In addition to this, Pergamon Press printes 350 specialized journals.

During 1964-1970, Robert Maxwell was a member of the British Parliament from Birmingham, a Labor party representative. He was also vice president of the Western European Council.

In 1981 Pergamon Press became the owner of the British Printing Corporation, which encompasses 39 printing combines and factories. Robert Maxwell is president of that corporation.

In 1984 Pergamon Press became the owner of the largest newspaper group in England, the Daily Mirror Group, which includes 8,000 journalists and workers. This group is one of the largest in the West. In the last few years Robert Maxwell has become the owner of many other companies.

Today Robert Maxwell and his empire are advancing. Among business circles, Maxwell is considered a "miracle worker, a magician." He bought the British Printing Corporation at the moment it was facing bankruptcy. Only 3 years later it recorded 35 million in net profit. Several years ago Pergamon Press was a small publishing house that was not well known. Today Pergamon Press, together with the printing corporation, is the largest printing and publishing combine in Western Europe.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VALEK SPEAKS ABOUT CZECH, SLOVAK CULTURE

Prague KMEN in Czech 20 Nov 85 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Miroslav Valek, National Artist, by Ivan Matejka and Jan Kaspar: "Briefly Said--To Be Contemporary"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] We ask you as a poet: What do you write?

[Answer] I am not writing now.

[Question] Not at all?

[Answer] I don't have time. I must write speeches, I must study materials so that what I do is only incidental work which belongs in the area of plans. And I would rather not talk about those.

[Question] So now we ask you as a minister: What are the present Czech-Slovak cultural relations?

[Answer] This is a question which requires an overly long answer and so I will limit myself to some of its aspects. In recent years many good things were done, but there also exist a number of unsolved and relatively inconsistent matters. I could illustrate this with the example of the Club of Czech Culture in Bratislava and the Club of Slovak Culture in Prague. There is one substantial difference between the two bodies. Both address the Slovak public. I believe that mutual contacts, which are stimulative not only in the positive sense of the word but also in the negative sense, have some prospects. Relations which provoke the capability to utilize the experiences of others. I could say that relations in the area of the theater or music have multiplied, but I am not interested in a quantitative elicitation. The substance of these relationships should be their quality. I believe that that which is the incapable condition of this quality is beginning to show up in practice and that is the personal recognition and cooperation of creative artists. A number of Czech books are being translated into Slovak and vice versa. But what is more important is that contacts are being initiated which will make the transition from the area of cooperation to that of friendship. At a new and higher level, that which once existed and at which we were then unsuccessful for a number of years--that which cannot be dictated, but which must arise from a lively interest about the subject, is being renewed. I believe that we should

devote greater attention not only to art but to culture in the broader sense of the meaning. This means that we should not measure our mutual relationships only by how many Czech books appear in Slovak translation, or by how Czech popular music is played in Slovakia, or how many times Czech theater groups visit Slovakia or Slovak groups visit Bohemia. But that we should pay attention to the cultural level in general. We should see how culture acts in creating the social conscience and, thus, in the final analysis, even influences productivity and the lifestyle. The Slovak side would find much stimulus in Bohemia and, similarly, it would be worthwhile to realize Czech stimulus in Slovakia. And vice versa. However, I believe--and I am not saying this for the first time--that overall culture in the Czech lands continues to be higher. I have in mind the designing of industrial and consumer goods, the packaging of goods, the level of sales, the assurance of a cultural life in settlements, etc.

[Question] Do you not feel that it is a paradox that some Slovak literary and cultural workers draw their inspiration virtually exclusively from Czech culture? We, for example, (and quasi-vice versa) consider it much more stimulating to read Matusek and Novomesky and everything that is Slovak which emanates from it....

[Answer] You should not be surprised that Slovak authors refer to some of their literary models in the Czech lands; more precisely: that they feel that they are formed by Czech culture. For entire generations Slovaks grew up with Czech culture in close proximity, and these contacts--to differentiate them from others--were never disrupted. The question is rather what one seeks and what one finds. This depends on the personality of the individual, his education; it depends on which time in his life he encountered certain manifestations of Czech culture or Czech culture in general. After all, there were times when we were being familiarized with world literature through the medium of Czech translations. Slovak culture has developed a pace since then. Nevertheless, it should not be surprising to see some Czech cultural values cropping up as parts of the cultural hinterland of the Slovak creative artist. I find this to be natural and good. What is less current is that Czech creative artists draw their inspiration in Slovakia; but to the extent to which they do so this must be evaluated as a positive. It is necessary to deepen these relationships.

[Question] Is socialist culture not gradually threatened by erosion, by mass culture (by subculture)? In some areas there are evident disputes between the cultural policy of the socialist state and practice....

[Answer] Disputes between the interests of cultural policy and cultural practice do exist. Popular music, let us say. It has a considerable influence upon young people and is socially overvalued. Our criticism, to the extent to which it exists at all, does not always differentiate accurately with respect to the type of music which is involved, be it its decayed form or an original creation which, despite drawing its inspiration from foreign musical streams, carries with it our traditions. We give priority to the kind of popular music which, according to our specialists, fulfills these prerequisites. Suggestions are heard which claim that the radio and television give popular music

an exaggerated amount of space. However: If this were not the case, the listener would simply tune his receiver elsewhere. I believe that it is worse that the area of elementary musical education has been neglected. Musical education should not terminate in elementary school, where only very few children are able to comprehend serious music. Musical education should continue at least to the end of middle school education. If this is not accomplished, the number of consumers of popular music who are not prepared to listen to it will grow from year to year. Another problem which opens the gap between the requirements of cultural policy and practice exists in the area of publishing policy. Carefully prepared and approved editorial plans should be binding documents for the publishing industry. Because of problems in the polygraphic industry, and thanks to existing and unsuitable economic mechanisms, however, the publishing industry is attempting to gain a profit at any price. It is not difficult to achieve this. It is sufficient to publish two or three books about which it can be assumed that they will sell and to publish them in large numbers. However, this leads to deformation in editorial plans.

[Question] And the reader?

[Answer] Sure. Our mistakes intersect at a common specific point. And that is man. Our mistakes form his tastes, his esthetic feelings, and, in the final analysis, even his world view. Our mistakes become part and parcel of his lifestyle. That is why our lifestyle does not always correspond to the notions of man living in a socialist society.

[Question] Is this problem not enchanted from the very beginning of creation? Why (for example) does poetry attempt to be so proportionally respectable? Why does it long for hard tablets rather than attempting to meet people half-way either in formal terms or in the massiveness of its range?

[Answer] Poetry should really not take itself overly seriously. That is unnecessary. It is more effective to regard oneself at a distance, even ironically. To regard oneself not only from within, but, comprehensively, in conjunction with life's manifestations, with life's processes. Briefly said: to be contemporary. To be contemporary by seeing contemporary problems, by the fact that we utilize contemporary creative means. These essentially develop, but there are only a few authors who are aware of this and even fewer who are able to work with these factors. Consequently, contemporary young poetry is predominantly gray, boring, and shallow. And it is only interesting for a few. The publishing houses are coming out with a number of first-time publications which would cause nothing to happen if they did not come out. If we add the fact that we publicize poetry less than we did before, it would seem as if poetry was gradually being lost from our life. People who need poetry, however, are not being lost. Nevertheless, they want new, interesting, and topical poetry.

[Question] You said that the young poetry of today was predominantly gray, boring, and shallow. Is this not so because the entrance of the young generation into literature is the same?

[Answer] To tell the truth, I don't see the literary generation which would be characterized by a social opinion regarding substance and the presence of more talent entering anywhere. I only know individuals who are variously oriented and who express themselves in different ways with regard to different topical interests.

[Question] Is this not so because, today, literature lacks an atmosphere of creative conflicts?

[Answer] What is lacking is the natural need for polemics--the need to defend one's position. Confrontation of various views with regard to poetry is lacking. Socialist realism has its limits, but it can tolerate many styles, methods of expression and views of the world. And the contemporary world is contradictory. Complex. So that why should art as a specific means of recognizing the world be unique? Even it must have its contradictions. And this is what is lacking in poetry. It is also lacking in literary criticism and, finally, even in prose, despite the fact that in Slovakia a rich harvest has recently been placed on the table. But it is too little. An urgent task of today is to orient oneself toward contemporariness and toward the preservation of peace because if there is no peace there will be no art.

[Question] Can the written word contribute to defending peace?

[Answer] It must. Art educates man and forges human values in him. Man, who works with forces capable of devastating the world, should be a human man and an educated man: a person who is aware of all connections. Art can help him in this direction. Art should, therefore, become aware of its responsibilities and move forward in this area. I do not believe that only that art is committed which touches on political topics. Committed art is that kind of art which is good and humanistic and which educates good and humanistic people. And I stress: I do not wish to suppress its socialist character in this way. On the contrary. After all, despite everything which they do not like in our country, people are growing up in socialist countries who, because of the very fact that they are living under socialism, think differently from people abroad. In the West, there is often talk of so-called human rights; we also speak of human rights here. And the problem lies in the fact that, in the West, and in our country, we visualize different things by this concept. For us, basic human rights mean the right to a life, the right to work, and the right to obtain an education. These rights are missing in the West. However, the character of man remains the same. Obviously, everybody there and here loves justice, wants to love someone, wants someone to love him, wants to have a child, wants to educate it well, wants to have the freedom of expressing himself, wants to enjoy the freedom of assembly.... However, each of these longings can only attain its true meaning if it is specific. Freedom for whom? For the individual or for someone's interests?

[Question] Are poets more responsible than other people?

[Answer] Whether they are more responsible, I do not know. I do know that they have a greater responsibility.

[Question] So we return to the beginning. Is not the feeling of responsibility that which interferes with creativity? Are you not afraid that the readers will confuse the metaphor used by poet Valek with the politics of Valek?

[Answer] There is no conflict in me between the creator and the politician because I am convinced of that which I do in the political arena. My problem is the problem of time. The type of working styles which are customary here are very time-intensive and sometimes do not permit one to think through those things which concern everyday political practice, let alone poetry. I do not consider this status as ideal.

[Question] Is it possible to change it?

[Answer] I hope so. The rationalization of our work is unavoidable. For socialism, it is a question of existence. We either manage to do so or we have lost.

5911  
CSO: 2400/75

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WORKER MILITIA CADRE DEVELOPMENT HIGHLIGHTED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 29 No 10, Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Saarfried Thiele, First Secretary of the SED Kreis Committee in Borna: "We Devote all our Care to the Cadre. Kreis Committee and SED Party Organizations in Borna Ensure Good Selection, Continuous Development, and Practical Operation"]

[Text] The efforts of our Kreis Committee and the basic units' leadership are directed towards ensuring a constant increase in the combat readiness of all units in the Worker's Militia. Especially in this current time of comprehensive preparation for the 11th SED Party Congress, we see our special responsibility in matching previous records in the training year which is now coming to a close and, in this vein, also in resolutely preparing for the new training period. Our fighters, non-commissioned officers and commanders have accepted great personal responsibilities toward this end in an "11th Party Congress Combat Pass."

In past training periods, our comrades (SED Party members) always reliably accomplished their missions in the protection of our socialist home with exemplary combat readiness. This is proven in the high quality of tactical exercises, good scores at the firing range and in the implementation of higher levels of combat readiness. Experience dictates that a qualified body of cadre in the Worker's Militia Collectives and in the realistic basic and advanced training are decisive prerequisites. We therefore are guided by the criteria set forth in Party decisions and other central documents when we make selections and assignments to the cadre, and give them advanced training.

This has proven correct, based on a concrete assessment of the effective cadre strength. This is organized on a 5-year basis, and is based on guidelines of a Cadre Prospect- and Development Plan which is approved by the Kreis Committee First Secretary's Office. The cadre programs of the support party organizations form the basis for this.

According to the principle that cadre work is concrete work with people, we place great value on thorough discussions with each comrade for whom leadership and special assignments are expected. The comrades of the honorary Work Group ("Arbeitsgruppe") support us with their wealth of experience in practical Worker's Militia work.

During the selection of cadre, it is important to consider questions such as: date of new duty assignment; prior political and military qualifications and professional development; the comrade's personal affairs and interests, and the expected date for classroom qualification.

In each case, a detailed discussion takes place beforehand with the secretary of the involved basic units and department party organizations, and with the state leader.

We have had good results in the cadre selection of people who have served in the reserves, who already meet the political and military prerequisites and have already led a combat collective.

We pay great attention to the cadre's political and military qualifications, on the basis of the Cadre Prospect- and Development Plan. For years we have been resolutely selecting comrade fighters to attend the County School for Marxism-Leninism. An experienced seminar director enables these comrades to broaden their Marxist-Leninist knowledge, and to more deeply accept (SED) Party decision concepts.

We in the Kreis have successfully set up a series of officer's courses based on the program of the Worker's Militia School "Ernst Schneller". These are for the development of military knowledge and leadership methods. Proven commanders are assigned as teachers, in agreement with the secretaries of the supporting organizations. These classes prove to be an effective aid in preparation and completion of the training, and give these comrades the opportunity to prepare to meet the admissions qualifications at a central school. As the Kreis Committee Secretary's Office, we constantly use our influence, through the party lines to the supporting party organizations, to ensure that all the necessary admissions requirements are met on time and with high quality. Thorough preparatory discussions are held with the comrades to be delegated, in order to make them fully aware of their responsibility concerning readiness to learn and instruction content. A qualifications contract is made with the student and the supporting enterprise which contains all the responsibilities and rights of the comrade and the enterprise.

For years, we have been able to fill all the slots allocated to us at the central schools, and have been able to send additional comrades, too. We have reserves ready for each class to be offered, and we conduct very thorough discussions with these comrades, too. This all requires a lot of detailed work, but it has always paid off in the past.

A permanent part of continual work with cadre is the recruitment of new fighters. This question is always at the heart of political-ideological work in the factory party organizations. The determined recruitment of younger talent follows, corresponding to the analysis of the numbers of cadre, that is, given the rate of retirement due to age and other reasons. In this manner we have not only steadily ensured the manpower strength, including reserve requirements for all the units, but at the same time have also raised the fighting worth of our units with the reduction in the age of the personnel.

Medical care for the Worker's Militia personnel is of a not insignificant interest during selection and assignment of the cadre, and for the fighting worth of the units. The First Secretary's Office has developed a relationship with the County doctor and the confirmed Worker's Militia doctors, which enables us to have semiannual discussions with these comrades concerning troop health problems and to determine further measures to improve the medical care. It is understood in our county that these Worker's Militia doctors also receive recognition for their responsible work.

Through yearlong systematic work, we have developed a solid and proven core of cadre in the county's Worker's Militia. The foundation for this was and is strict direction by the County Directorate First Secretary's Office of the support party organizations. The Secretary's Office takes an accounting of the current situation each year with the party secretaries, factory and business directors, and the commanders, analyzes the work, and, when necessary, calls up new commanders to their posts.

We will continue to make responsible efforts under the leadership of the SED Kreis Committee for the selection, assignment and ongoing development of the Worker's Militia Cadre. Toward this end, we will keep the Cadre Prospects-and Development Plans current, and prepare the best Worker's Militia troops as reserve and replacement cadre. It is especially important to us to further affirm the leading roll of our party in all entities, and to further strengthen politically and militarily the combat units.

13071  
CSO 2300/0034

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG COMMENTATOR ASSESSES POLITBURO CHANGES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Dr Peter Jochen Winters, head of the Berlin editorial staff of the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, datelined Berlin 24 Nov 85: "The SED Dumps Naumann, the Agitator, From the Politburo"]

[Text] At its winter session 5 months before the next party congress, the SED Central Committee made some important personnel decisions. As stated in the official communique of the session, it "went along with the requests of Comrades Herbert Haeber and Konrad Naumann to be relieved as members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee for reasons of health, thanking them for the work they had done." At the same time the Central Committee elected three bezirk party heads as candidate members of the Politburo. They are Werner Eberlein, 66 (Magdeburg), Siegfried Lorenz, 55 (Karl-Marx-Stadt) and Gerhard Mueller, 57 (Erfurt). The supreme SED body thus now consists of 19 members and 7 candidate members.

'The Man in Short Pants'

The jobs held by Haeber and Naumann in the Secretariat of the Politburo presumably will not be filled again. Haeber, until recently chief of the Central Committee Department for Western Affairs, primarily responsible for matters concerning the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin and now under the direction of Gunter Rettner, had become a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee for inter-German relations only in May 1984. Naumann, who had been a member of the Politburo since 1976 and has been SED chief in the East Berlin Bezirk since 1971, in addition had become Central Committee secretary for questions of (East) Berlin in May 1984. Both jobs--inter-German relations and Berlin--had been newly established in the Secretariat of the Central Committee at that time.

The firing of the once powerful Konrad Naumann from the innermost leadership circle of the SED recalls the fall of Romanov in the Soviet Union. Central Committee Secretary Romanov was regarded as a rival of Gorbachev for the post of general secretary of the CPSU, while Naumann was the rival of Egon Krenz to succeed Honecker as SED general secretary. Romanov, as party chief in Leningrad for many years, had made a lot of enemies by his self-important and ruthless demeanor. Naumann, as East Berlin party head, had aroused negative attention on several occasions, be it by intimidating persons in the arts and

the academic world or by using the privileges conceded to high officials too unscrupulously. Naumann, who is now 57 years old, who made a career in the FDJ and who owes his climb to Honecker (who made him a candidate member of the Politburo in 1973), always behaved as an agitator in the SED leadership and made it apparent at an early stage that he wanted to succeed Honecker. He proved to be an opponent of Honecker not only in the Germany and church policy set by the general secretary himself but also made it clear that he did not agree with the cultural policy for which Politburo member Kurt Hager was responsible and that he would have liked to take over his job as Central Committee secretary in charge of culture and science--as a springboard to the top. One still remembers how Naumann reviled GDR writers before the Central Committee in May 1978 ("the most intimate aspect of the intimate sphere is money"), provoking a stinging response at the 1978 GDR Writers Congress by author Stefan Hermlin, said to be particularly close to Honecker. Hermlin's comment on Naumann's derogatory remarks: A passage "so disgraceful as to be without equal"; "demagoguery which has a long ignominious history when it is a question of disparaging intellectuals." Since then, East Berlin intellectual circles have talked of Naumann as "the man in short pants"--probably an allusion not so much to his FDJ past as to an earlier youth organization, the Hitler Youth. What finally triggered the fall of Naumann is said to have been a performance by him before the Academy of Sciences during which he reportedly affronted persons of the academic world in a similar way as he had done in the case of the writers. One hears reports in East Berlin that following complaints by the academics to the Politburo, Politburo member Hager appeared in person to apologize on behalf of the Politburo for the invectives of Politburo member Naumann. One should also mention, however, that it has been rumored in East Berlin for some time that Naumann has cancer, and he probably will now also have to give up his post as head of the SED Bezirk of East Berlin.

Herbert Haeber, 55, is considered to be the expert on Germany policy in the SED Central Committee. He knows his way around extremely well in the Federal Republic and has had personal talks with almost all politicians in the Federal Republic and West Berlin who count as far as Germany policy is concerned. Having already worked in the apparatus of the Central Committee in the early 1960's, he was deputy head of the State Secretariat for All-German, or West German, Questions from 1965 to 1971, and head of the Institute for International Policy and Economy from 1971 to 1973, in East Berlin. From 1973 until a few weeks ago, he was chief of the Central Committee Department for Western Affairs. He became a candidate member of the Central Committee in 1976, and a member in 1978. His jump into the Politburo a year and a half ago came as a surprise and was an indication that even after the stationing of missiles Honecker intended to assign a high priority to Germany policy. Surely this stubborn "now more than ever" of the SED chief in regard to inter-German talks and negotiations caused rejection rather than agreement in the Kremlin at the time. Politburo member Hermann Axen, secretary of the Central Committee for international relations, also probably looked askance at Haeber's climb, for his responsibilities were curtailed by the new Central Committee secretary.

#### Greater Influence for Krenz

Haeber has not been seen in public since August. They say he is seriously ill. So maybe the official reason for his removal from the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat is quite correct. The person who gained as a result is

Hermann Axen, who since Haeber's disappearance has again participated in all inter-German meetings in East Berlin. Since he is not exactly an enthusiastic supporter of Honecker's policy toward Bonn, Haeber's departure presumably will affect inter-German relations.

In the person of Werner Eberlein, the son of a KPD high official who disappeared in the Soviet Union, a man is moving into the SED leadership circle who spent his youth in the Soviet Union and is remembered by many people as Khrushchev's German interpreter. An electrician and journalist by trade, he obtained a degree in social science and, after working for NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, as of 1960 worked as a salaried employee in the apparatus of the SED Central Committee, most recently as deputy department chief. As early as 1959, he had become a member of the Agitation Commission attached to the Politburo. Eberlein has been a member of the SED Central Committee since 1981, and since 1983 has headed the SED Bezirk of Magdeburg.

Siegfried Lorenz, head of the SED Bezirk of Karl-Marx-Stadt since 1976, also has a degree in social science. From 1951 to 1953 he was department head of the Central Council of the FDJ under Honecker, and from 1965 secretary and then first secretary of the FDJ (East) Berlin Bezirk. From 1959 to 1976 he was a member of the FDJ Central Committee, headed by Egon Krenz since 1974. A Central Committee member since 1971, Lorenz headed the Youth Affairs Department of the SED Central Committee from 1966 to 1971.

Gerhard Mueller, who first went into education, as a young teacher, in 1955 completed studies at the Karl Marx party college attached to the SED Central Committee with a degree in social sciences. Then he was party secretary in the Bezirk of Neubrandenburg. After completing a correspondence course in the 1960's he qualified as a government-licensed farmer. Since 1980 he has been party head of the Bezirk of Erfurt, and since 1981 he has been a member of the SED Central Committee.

The real winner in the personnel changes in the SED leadership circle surely is 48-year-old Politburo member Egon Krenz. For many years--1974-1983--head of the FDJ, and secretary of the Central Committee for security, youth affairs and sports, he is regarded as Honecker's "heir apparent" and has considerably improved his position as a result of Naumann's fall. Haeber's departure also gives Krenz an opportunity henceforth to exercise greater influence on Germany policy, particularly since, in the person of the 43-year-old Gunter Rettner, a confidant from the FDJ Central Council of 1975 now heads the Central Committee Department for Western Affairs, renamed the Department for International Policy and Economy. Finally, the three new Politburo candidate members include at least one--Lorenz--whom one definitely can describe as a man well known to Krenz and who is bound to play a role on the future Krenz team.

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CSO: 2200,83

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GROUND FORCES CHIEF CITES TRAINING DEFICIENCIES

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 34 1985 (signed to press 19 Aug 85) p 3

[Article by Colonel General Horst Stechbart, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy minister for national defense, and chief of the ground forces: "Achieving Higher Performance Through Efficient Leadership" (subtitled:) "Thoroughly preparing, universally maintaining and carrying out combat training on a high level--Troop command is primarily human leadership in the socialist armed forces--Relying on the strength of the party organizations and firmly established leadership teams"]

[Text] An important conclusion of the 10th session of the SED Central Committee involves attaining the rise in performance, objectively required in all areas of military life, by further perfecting political and military leadership activity. As the direct organizers for educating and training their units, company and battery commanders bear a particularly high responsibility for doing this, since the demands of political and military leadership documents are brought to life every day in the companies and batteries, and concrete achievements, norms and grades are accounted for.

Good Service Organization Creates a Climate of High Performance Readiness

Combat training is the focal point of the leadership activity of these commanders. In conjunction with political education, combat training is still the major field of preparation for victory in the armed struggle. To regularly implement it according to plan in a thoroughly prepared manner, universally maintained and at a high level of contents, is not only decisive for the immediate training results, but, beyond that, influences the entire life of the unit. Where the training process is well organized and leads to measurably higher results, the army member vividly experiences making his own contribution to a high fighting strength and combat readiness of his unit and thereby to the carrying out of the class mission. In this way a climate of high performance readiness is created in those companies and batteries. And not least, the whole course of daily duties will be shaped by the combat training, for its exact organization also has a bearing on the order in the other daily activities.

In the interest of a still higher level of training, it is now a matter of directing the leadership activity of company and battery commanders toward the further intensification of combat training. In so doing, it is a question of making complete use of the good requisites on hand for efficient combat training: our modern training base, the diverse training equipment and resources, simulators and training implements, the methods for combat training and instructions with synopses for all topics of general military training, as well as the numerous and good training films.

#### Orientation Points are the Optimal Values

The honest and critical evaluation of the performance level of each unit and the realistic assessment of the daily training results according to uniform criteria are among the most important conditions for a further intensification of combat training. That is especially true for the examinations after the conclusion of the individual training, for the unity of the squads and platoons, for training exercises etc.

All trainers must adapt themselves to the optimal values of the catalogs of standards as well as to the results of the best and most progressive units. Also, a "look over the fence" at the Soviet comrades-in-arms sharpens the eye for one's own level of performance. A continual performance analysis will time and again lead to new conclusions for service preparations, further training and the methodic structuring of the training. The fact that the best methods ascertained in comparing performances are immediately transferred to one's own unit is not encumbent on the "good will" of the commander, but is an objective legitimacy inherent in the laws of modern military affairs.

Absolute conscientiousness is required in assessing one's own performance. Good grades and results are only worth something if they are also really based on the requirements and standards of the armed struggle. It is not the commander who generously hands out good grades who is the best, but the one who quite strictly and consistently leads his subordinates to the development of all their performance abilities. It should be understood that a commander who reports honestly to his superior about still existing deficiencies is not to be "chewed out as a scapegoat", but is to jointly look for causes and discuss methods of solution with him.

#### Maximally Using the Training Time

Efficiency and quality of work are substantially determined by the relationship between expenditure and use [of time]. The maximal exploitation of time plays a decisive role here. The number of hours of the training day is planned precisely; wasted minutes are lost irrevocably. They cannot be arbitrarily attached to the last hour or otherwise made up somehow. And time can be thrown away in many ways: through deficient preparation of duties and lack of punctuality at the start and end of the training, by training equipment and resources which have been forgotten or not procured in time, by shortcomings in the methods of trainers and too little involvement in duties.

How many unused minutes add up just in the course of a day when the trainers do not know how to include the whole complement of personnel in the training at the same time, when soldiers are commandeered without good reason for other activities in the company or component. Soldiers who in this way do not participate in the training do not as a rule fulfill their role and missions in the team. It is a characteristic of a company commander's efficient leadership style and party duty for him to vigorously look into such defects and shortcomings in the preparation of and participation in duties and in the structuring of the training, no matter whether they originate within his own sphere of responsibility or came from outside.

VOLKSARMEE has a number of times reported on the everyday training in the components and units, and in so doing has brought out many examples for the efficient use of time and good preparation of combat training. I recommend all trainers read these contributions very attentively.

#### Helping the Trainers on the Spot

Thorough preparation of duties continues to be the most important thing for efficient combat training, since the success of the training is forged by the thorough preparation of the trainer and perfect maintenance of the material. It is now all the more important in leadership for the company and battery commanders to turn more intensively to the trainers and enable them to master the problems of everyday military matters. Each must assume that in his unit there are experienced trainers in addition to young officers and noncommissioned officers, and that the abilities and skills of the trainers are variously developed. No company or battery commander should avoid preparing the trainers for duty as often as possible and personally instructing them in combat training, helping them on the spot. An efficient style of leadership is distinguished by not taking away the responsibility from young, still inexperienced trainers, but enhancing their ability and shaping their character by giving them concrete, accountable tasks and duties and effective help. Because of the yearly supply of new men from the officers and noncommissioned officers schools, this process of enhancing young cadres will never be finished, but will always be in the superior officer's realm of responsibility. The knowledge and ability of the commanders is of course a decisive factor.

#### Familiarizing Oneself With the New and Preparing for the Imminent

The principle which has been repeatedly confirmed many hundreds of times and more in our socialist society that troop command is primarily a matter of human leadership places very high demands on the political and military leadership qualities and on the leadership skills and capabilities of the commanders; "because," as member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and Minister for National Defense, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, stressed, "leading teams as military superiors means primarily working with people, directing them with political and military expertise, convincingly, prudently and effectively toward a goal, organizing, motivating and enabling them to perform a mission."

That requires forging the officers and noncommissioned officers of the companies into a solidly established leadership team in which mutual help and replaceability are stressed, in which no one is marginal. It is likewise a matter of the company and battery commanders working actively in their party teams, relying on the strength of the communists and spurring the teams on to exemplary achievements, and also using the mobilizing role of the FDJ [Free German Youth] for a further enhancement of the training results.

The all-around perfection of political and military leadership activity requires constantly qualifying the cadres, even beyond the scope of the cadre organized in the component. That is absolutely essential under the present conditions of rapid development in military matters. The time for organized and individual advanced training should be used intensively in order to familiarize oneself with the new and prepare for the imminent, but also to further reinforce existing knowledge about basic service regulations, training programs and guidelines. It should be taken for granted that a company or battery commander himself is perfectly familiar with and can use all the weapons and combat technology, even the newest, on hand in his unit and is able to demonstrate exemplary training with them. The still young and inexperienced company and battery commanders who are often at the post require the special help of the battalion and department commanders in their personal advanced training. Such a further enhancement of the efficiency and quality of leadership will allow bringing the knowledge and ability of the army members into full play. It puts the commanding officers in the position of fully exploiting their own abilities and those of their teams.

13084

CSO: 2300/12

**GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

**HUGUENOT IMMIGRATION COMMEMORATED, REASSESSED**

**FRG Paper Evaluates Process**

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Oct 85 p 6

[Article by "Ws." datelined Berlin 24 Oct 85: "'All of German History is Heritage'--Historians in the GDR Devote Attention to the HUGUENOTS"]

[Text] The GDR historian Ingrid Mittenzwei, research team head in the Central Institute for History of the GDR Academy of Sciences and author of a biography of Frederick II--the Great--which was published in 1979 and received widespread attention, once more has confirmed the claim of the GDR to all German history. In an interview with the (East) Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Edict of Potsdam, she said: "All of German history is our heritage, also from the geographical point of view." For some years GDR historians have been trying to continue to mine the historical heritage step by step, she says. "That means that we do not skirt any question, however difficult it may be." In this connection Mrs Mittenzwei recalled the debate about heritage and tradition which broke out in the GDR over the history of Prussia. It continued in connection with the Luther anniversary, she said, "and also addressed such a complicated question as that of the conspirators of 20 July 1944." To deal with the Huguenots was now another step "to make our heritage our own." Anniversaries, she noted, accelerate these necessary processes, which can only be coped with over the long term, because anniversaries contribute to the concentration of forces, arouse the interest of the public and pose new problems having to do with the effect of the present and the past on one another.

A scientific congress which will begin in East Berlin this Friday [25 October] is to deal with the topic "The Huguenots in Brandenburg-Prussia--Their Role in Science and Culture." It has been organized by the Historians Society of the GDR and the Central Institute for History of the GDR Academy of Sciences. Ingrid Mittenzwei is in charge of it. The topic of the congress has been limited this way for purely pragmatic reasons, Mrs Mittenzwei told BERLINER ZEITUNG. GDR Huguenot research was still young and had to correspond to GDR possibilities. Moreover the most important sources for this topic could be found precisely on GDR soil. To evaluate these for a start was the concern of the congress. On the other hand, the topic before the congress was not insignificant. Of the Huguenots who immigrated into the Reich, most--about 20,000--came to the provinces of the Elector of Brandenburg. Further, in the course of the 18th

century Brandenburg/Prussia developed into the most important German territorial state. "Without it, it is impossible to portray German history." It was therefore worthwhile to work out just what the Huguenots' share in this development was--and that was what the congress was about in the final analysis.

"But one should not conclude from this that our historical image is being restricted," Mrs Mittenzwei said: "we are classifying the topic according to international connections." Without the events in France proper, the refugee movement, the immigration into the other European countries and into German territorial states, or without a comparison with them, one could not form a proper judgment about conditions in Brandenburg/Prussia. To the extent of their abilities, GDR historians wanted to make such comparisons. "And certainly the posing of the topic does not mean that we always want to deal only with the history of Brandenburg/Prussia."

Professor Mittenzwei, who was born in Bochum in 1929, also talked about the "benefit" of the immigration of the religious refugees for Brandenburg/Prussia. It was an established fact that the Huguenots, who had come to a country which was backward compared with France, contributed to a broadening of trades. As a result, the number products manufactured in Brandenburg/Prussia also increased. Nor was there any dispute about the share of the Huguenots in the development of productive forces. What was in dispute--particularly among Marxist-Leninist scholars--was the question as to whether the Huguenots had also stimulated the development of new forms of production.

To the question whether the Edict of Potsdam could be described as an edict of tolerance, Mrs Mittenzwei replied that the Elector of Brandenburg had called into his country religious refugees who adhered the same confession as he did. Moreover he was guided not only by religious considerations but by demographic, economic and power-politics considerations. "Therefore there can be no question of a tolerance edict pure and simple. If, however, the edict was classified as part of the church policy practiced by Elector Frederick William, one was bound to reach the conclusion that ideas of tolerance played a part in the drafting of the Edict of Potsdam. Frederick William, in a country in which a Reformed upper stratum was confronting a Lutheran majority of the population, had tried to prevent any disputes between the two Protestant confessions.

Mrs Mittenzwei pointed out further that some interesting topics remained to be dealt with in future work on the integration of the Huguenots into the historical image of the GDR. There were, for example, lasting traditions which had to be approached, among other ways, via research into church history.

GDR Historian Interviewed

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 24 Oct 85 p 9

[Interview with Prof Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei, research team head in the Central Institute for History of the GDR Academy of Sciences, by Ruediger Raetzke, date and place not given: "The Huguenots and Our View of History"]

[Text] On 8 November 1985 it will be 300 years since the Edict of Potsdam was signed. This occasion is also being commemorated by a scientific congress which will begin in

Berlin tomorrow. It has been organized by the Historians Society of the GDR and the Central Institute for History of the GDR Academy of Sciences. We talked about it with Prof Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei.

BZ: The congress will deal with "The Huguenots in Brandenburg/Prussia--Their Role in Industry and Culture." In other words, the topic is a limited one. Why?

I. Mittenzwei: For purely pragmatic reasons. Our Huguenot research is still young and has to correspond to our possibilities. Moreover the most important sources for this topic can be found on GDR soil. Our concern is to evaluate these for a start.

On the other hand, the topic we have posed is not insignificant. Of the Huguenots who immigrated into the Reich, most came to the provinces of the Elector of Brandenburg. Further, in the course of the 18th century Brandenburg/Prussia developed into the most important German territorial state. Without it, it is impossible to portray German history. It is therefore worthwhile to work out just what the Huguenots' share in this development was--and that is what the congress is about in the final analysis.

But one should not conclude from this that our historical image is being restricted. We are classifying the topic according to international connections. Without the events in France proper, the refugee movement, the immigration into the other European countries and into German territorial states, or without a comparison with them, one cannot form a proper judgment about conditions in Brandenburg/Prussia. To the extent of our abilities, we want to make such comparisons. And certainly the posing of the topic does not mean that we always want to deal only with the history of Brandenburg/Prussia. All of German history is our heritage, also from the geographical point of view.

#### No Skirting of Difficult Questions

BZ: Was the round-figure anniversary the occasion for more intensive research on the Huguenots, or is it connected with our perception of heritage and tradition having become more comprehensive?

I. Mittenzwei: Both have played a part. For some years GDR historians have been trying to mine further fields of the historical heritage step by step. That means that we do not skirt any question, however difficult it may be. Let us recall only the debate about heritage and tradition which broke out over the history of Prussia. It continued in connection with the Luther anniversary, and it also addressed such a complicated question as that of the conspirators of 20 July 1944. To this extent, dealing with the Huguenots is another step to make our heritage our own.

Of course anniversaries accelerate these necessary processes, which can only be coped with over the long term, because anniversaries contribute to the concentration of forces, arouse the interest of the public and pose new problems having to do with the effect of the present and the past on one another.

BZ: You will make one of the two main reports to the congress tomorrow, dealing with the Huguenots' trade industry. Can one really say that the immigration of the religious refugees, to use a term of Huguenot descendant Fontane, was a "blessing for town and country"?

I. Mittenzwei: I would not talk about blessing, but I would talk about benefit. It was certainly greater for the towns than for the country. Nor is this benefit disputed anywhere; there are (also international) differences of opinion only as to the extent of it. It is an established fact that the Huguenots, who had come to a country which was backward compared with France, contributed to a broadening of trades. As a result, the number of products manufactured in Brandenburg/Prussia also increased. Nor is there any dispute about the share of the Huguenots in the development of productive forces. What there is in dispute--particularly among Marxist-Leninist scholars--is the question as to whether the Huguenots also stimulated the development of new forces of production.

BZ: As is well known, most of their manufactures did not last long. Is the Huguenot contribution to the economic upswing perhaps being overestimated ex post facto?

I. Mittenzwei: That is hard to say. Huguenot historians of the 18th and 19th centuries, such as Erman, Reclam or Muret, did incline toward exaggerating the share of their coreligionists in the economic progress. One needs to free oneself of such tendencies.

Personally, I think I can state on the basis of my knowledge of relevant documents that the Huguenots came into a country which had not yet overcome the damage done by the Thirty Years' War and where manufactures did not yet exist.

Even though the manufactures established by the Huguenots immediately after their immigration mostly went bankrupt, they provided something like an "initial spark." That may have to do with the fact that the Huguenots came to the country at a time when a phase of upswing was beginning to take shape. After the bases of manufacture production had spread--not least through the places of refuge--there cropped up in turn numerous capitalist manufacture enterprises in the second half of the 18th century with the participation of the refugees. I have now also, for my part, answered the controversial question concerning forms of production.

#### It Was Not Just a Question of Religious Motives

BZ: In the past the Edict of Potsdam has often been described as a tolerance edict. Do you agree with this description?

I. Mittenzwei: Even if one does not remove the term of tolerance from its contemporary context, this is not an easy question. Originally tolerance meant mutual toleration of the Christian confessions. Later, as the fighting slogan of Enlightenment, tolerance also referred to members of a different religion or was understood as freedom of conscience. Let us recall Lessing and his parable of the rings. The Elector of Brandenburg, however, called into his

country refugees who adhered to the same confession as he did. Moreover he was guided not only by religious considerations but by demographic, economic and power-politics considerations. Therefore there can be no question of a tolerance edict pure and simple.

If, however, the edict is classified as part of the church policy of Elector Frederick William, one is bound to reach the conclusion that ideas of tolerance played a part in the drafting of the Edict of Potsdam. Frederick William, in a country in which a Reformed upper stratum was confronting a Lutheran majority of the population, tried to prevent any disputes between the two Protestant confessions. There were three edicts with that objective. You see, his country, still suffering from the aftereffects of the Thirty Years' War, had absolutely no use for confessional disputes.

#### There Remain Some Interesting Topics for Research

BZ: As yet, Huguenot research has stopped at the year 1809, the year of the dissolution of the French colonies. Ought one not to go further? If so, in what direction?

I. Mittenzwei: As a historian dealing with the 17th and 18th centuries, I don't really feel quite competent to answer such a question. Moreover one should keep in mind that the "flourishing period" of the Huguenots actually was those 125 years. Already in the course of the 18th century, however, a process of assimilation set in--first economically, then culturally and finally linguistically. It occurred in the smaller towns, where the relations between immigrants and the indigenous population were closer--even more rapidly than in Berlin.

Nevertheless there remain some interesting topics for the time to come. Let me just name them and leave everything else to possible future research. There have existed lasting traditions which must be approached, among other ways, via research into church history. Finally, Huguenot historiography, which has existed since the late 17th century, continued to develop. It is also of interest for an analysis of the political physiognomy of Huguenot descendants, who manifested as a rule an "affection" for the Hohenzollern and revealed at a time of great social changes a conservative monarchist attitude. On the occasion of an anniversary, we should not disregard this either.

Finally there is the big topic of antifascist resistance, the Huguenot contribution to which should be researched in detail. Let that suffice to show that an interest in the topic will continue after the congress.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS IN BERLIN REVIEWED, LISTED

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 10 Nov 85 p 50

[Article by Brigitte Grunert: "The 'Noses' Along the Wall--Negotiations With the GDR on Further Territorial Exchanges Are in the Deep Freeze"]

[Text] The talks with the GDR about further territorial exchanges have not yet been concluded, but the Senat hopes that in the course of further improvement of the inter-German climate it will be possible to reach an agreement with the other side in the foreseeable future. Thus states the latest annual report of Governing Mayor Eberhard Diepgen about the "implementation of the four-power agreement." Meanwhile the Senat has openly admitted that the talks have been dormant for a year. The reasons are not clear.

In fact, after lengthy probing the subject had been approached with elan. The visits representatives [Besuchsbeauftragten] of both sides, Senior Senat Councilor Gerhard Kunze of the Office of the Senat and Walter Mueller of the GDR Foreign Ministry, resumed negotiations 17 November 1983 with the aim of solving problems of border traffic and of the still existing enclaves. In the first five rounds until early October 1984, such quick progress was made that unofficially there is talk of an almost completed agreement.

Since that time, however, the package has been in the deep freeze. By now it is nothing but a constant reminder at the regular talks between Kunze and Mueller about travel and visitors' traffic, i.e., the representative of the Senat inquires when it might be possible to talk again about territorial exchanges, and the GDR representative expresses his regret, in always the same sparse and courteous words, saying that at the moment he is unfortunately not in a position to do so.

The planned "land reallocations" are, however, definitely in the mutual interest. First, it is a question of the West Berlin exclaves, which lie beyond the city boundaries in GDR territory and are called exclaves from the GDR point of view: Fichtewiese and Erlengrund, Lasszinswiesen, Wueste Mark and Falkenhagener Wiesen. Finally one should mention the Grosse Kienhorst, a sort of GDR enclave in the former Eiskeller enclave, which long since has had direct access to the city. In part they are not accessible at all, and thus cannot be utilized, and in part the access is inadequate.

Secondly, it is intended to straighten out a whole series of vexing corners and edges at the sector and city boundaries, most of which legally are part of East Berlin or the GDR but lie this side of the wall. The most prominent example is the so-called Lenne triangle between Potsdamer Platz and Kemperplatz, which one Senat after another has been wanting to acquire ever since the early seventies.

Taking the mutually offered objects of exchange, Senat experts figures out as early as last October that altogether 90 hectares were to be ceded by the East to the West, and 83.8 hectares by the West to the East, and then handed this balance sheet to the other side across the table. The difference of 6.2 hectares would have to be paid for by the Senat in cash. An average price would have to be determined by taking into account the various values of real estate in the differing areas, it is being stated, but there has been no discussion at all about money with the other side.

To live with the wall does not mean to be resigned to it, but as long as it cannot be eliminated the brutal cutting up of the city is at least to be made tolerable--to the extent that this is possible. No one wants to be constantly reminded of his dilemma. To alleviate it is the aim of all aspects of Berlin and Germany policy, including territorial exchange.

The construction of the wall on 13 August 1961 not only caused political and psychological suffering but clearly pointed up problems of transport and urban planning. The complete blocking off along the city and district boundaries established in 1920 of course disregarded the fact that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line. Some obstacles emerged. At many places of the wall, vexing "noses" protrude into the respective territory of the other side.

Therefore the four powers in the Berlin settlement created the prerequisites for corrections. "The problems of small enclaves, including Steinstuecken and other small areas, can be solved by territorial exchange," it is stated in Item II C of the four-power agreement of 3 September 1971.

As a result of the first agreement between the GDR and the Senat concerning this, concluded in December 1971, above all the Steinstuecken exclave, through the construction of an access road, was saved from its "insular position," exposed to a harsh political east wind, and connected with the Berlin "mainland." At that time the two sides agreed on the possibility of continuing the straightening out of boundaries. Paragraph 6 of the agreement of December 1971 states explicitly: "As regards enclaves and other small areas which have not yet been included in this agreement, discussions and agreements will take place at the appropriate time." Since then there have been successful talks and talks without any result. But always only uninhabited territory was exchanged, and in principle this is the way it is supposed to stay this time as well.

As in all East-West talks, the Senat cannot take up or conclude talks in individual cases in matters having to do with territorial exchanges without the Allies' authorization. Conversely it may be assumed that the GDR in each

case requires the consent of the Soviet Union, though publicly it denies this. This, Western observers assume, is a reason for the GDR's present immobility.

The reason why authorizations are required is the four-power status of all of Berlin as it emerged in the war and postwar period. The London protocol to which the United States, Great Britain and the USSR agreed in fall 1944 and to which France acceded in late July 1945 provided that the "special Berlin territory" as a four-sector city come under the joint administration of the victorious powers.

In the process Berlin was expressly defined as "Greater Berlin" within the boundaries drawn up as a result of sizable annexations in 1920. As long as the four-power status is in force, it is therefore impossible to change boundaries except with the consent of the four powers. Nor has there been any expansion of East Berlin beyond the 1920 city boundaries so far.

About the question as to why the negotiations about further territorial exchanges which started with elan on 17 November 1983 have ended in (temporary?) great silence, the politicians at the Schoeneberg City Hall do not like to speculate. At first the word was that one was under the impression that the Eastern reserve was temporary and only had to do with the West Berlin elections of 10 March 1985. But it looks like this is not so.

Apparently in the difficult inter-German dialogue, which all along has amounted to patiently drilling through thick boards, everything is connected with everything else. It is certainly not by chance that the governing mayor points to the hope of being able to conclude an agreement in the course of a "further improvement of the inter-German climate." Elsewhere in his report he stresses the fact that "Berlin is and remains the yardstick for the state of East-West relations."

Word from the Senat is that the Federal Government is signaling to the GDR at every opportunity that Bonn is ready for a "flexible attitude" in inter-German questions if this is accepted by the other side at the Berlin level. The term "package" is not part of the diplomatic vocabulary, however. There is cautious mention of tacit "two-sided one-sidedness."

In fact precisely at the Berlin level there is little that can be seen to be moving at present. Insiders familiar with the Berlin and Germany policy at the Schoeneberg City Hall in fact think they can just about pinpoint the date of the breaking point as late summer 1984. It was then that the GDR did not abide by its firm pledge fully to include Berlin in the negotiated improvements regarding travel and visitors' traffic. The advertised touchups concerning Berliners--extending the duration of the certificate authorizing several trips from 3 to 6 months and extending 1-day visits to 2-day visits with overnight stay--were not made. And since that time, it is claimed, the talks about territorial exchanges have also remained paralyzed.

As for the standing Berlin desires for alleviations, the Senat and the Federal Government have been encountering a wall of silence on the other side

as it is. This is true of the demand for reducing the minimum of money that must be exchanged as well as of the desire to take dogs and bicycles along on visits and to have an additional place of transit established in the south of the city.

#### 'Red Telephones'

The same is true of the request constantly made by the Bonn delegation at the inter-German transit commission to install "red telephones" on the transit autobahns. This would enable drivers to report breakdowns or accidents direct to a Western checkpoint with a request to inform their relatives. So far the time-consuming procedure has been for the GDR authorities to pass such information via the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic in the GDR.

However, the Senat too has something of a bad conscience vis-a-vis the other side, because Berlin in some instances finds it difficult to abide by treaties. Take the interminable stories about expanding the Spandau lock and the construction of a south freight depot. Both projects were negotiated as early as in the seventies. As is known, the Senat wants to enter into new negotiations about the abortive depot plan as soon as it obtains the requested authorization of the protective powers. God knows whether, when, where and how the freight depot will be built. The Senat wants to have a second lock chamber for Europe ships, but before accomplishing this must at least reduce opposition to it among the CDU.

Is the silence of the Eastern side in matters concerning territorial exchanges a tactical one, designed to remind the Senat of outstanding "checks"? Is the Eastern side in fact interested only in deals which are financially worthwhile? Or is it even possible that a decision about land reallocations is beyond inter-German possibilities?

People in the know about Berlin and Germany policy at City Hall presume that Moscow is quite pleased to say "nyet" in this question in order to demonstrate that it has the GDR in check and has a definite say in Berlin. The Kremlin is said to be figuring that Berlin is no longer just the "corn" of the West but also that of the GDR, the idea being to step on its sensitive toe from time to time to break--or punish--a too self-confident striving for sovereignty vis-a-vis the east. This leads to the theory that Moscow has the key both for the failure to include Berlin in improvements of travel and visitors' traffic and for shutting the GDR off in the matter of straightening out boundaries. Possibly, the thinking is, East Berlin overestimated its own possibilities. No one says any of this out loud, though, it not being part of the strategy to "expose" the GDR.

The areas selected for territorial exchanges are based at least in part on desires extending over many years (which, however, exceed in number those now on the list). Let us first cover in detail the inner-city corners the West Berlin Senat would like to incorporate:

The core unquestionably remains the 6-hectare Lenne triangle, whose tip reaches from Potsdamer Platz into the Tiergarten and points toward

Kemperplatz. It is bounded in the west by Lennestrasse and Bellevuestrasse, in the east by the wall at Ebertstrasse. Legally it is part of the East Berlin Bezirk Mitte, but it is not walled in. The triangle thus constitutes a piece of no man's land, a small fallow wilderness which no one is allowed to touch and which has not been of any use to anyone in decades.

It would be no problem to include this sad corner in the shaping of the Tiergarten, or the Central Area [Zentraler Bereich]. Meanwhile, at least for the time being, the Senat has, however, excluded it from the planning of roads through the Tiergarten, since of course there has been a delay in reaching an agreement.

#### Cut Connections

Tiresome traffic obstacles in the same sort of boundary situation are the Neukoelln-Mittenwald railroad triangle at the border between Gropiusstadt and the Grossziehnen area (GDR Kreis of Koenigs Wusterhausen) and Lohmuehlenplatz with the Lohmuehlen Bridge on the sector boundary between Neukoelln and Treptow. Both also lie this side of the wall though they are part of the GDR and the East Berlin Trepow Bezirk, respectively.

The triangle on the former Neukoelln-Mittenwald Railway cuts through an important thoroughfare in Gropiusstadt. The Koelner Damm ends there abruptly. A total of 2.6 hectares of Koenigs Wusterhausen soil would have to be acquired for Neukoelln to connect the Koelner Damm with the Zittauer Damm at the other side of the triangle and thus do away with sizable detours via secondary roads. All of 0.2 hectares of Lohmuehlenplatz would need to be acquired for the Neukoelln District to reconnect the cut connection between Kiehlufer, Maybachufer and Harzer Strasse at the point where the Neukoelln shipping channel and Landwehrkanal meet. As early as in 1972 DER TAGESSPIEGEL wrote that this corner had long been on the list of "urgent boundary corrections."

Further, no more than a total of 0.2 hectares of Bezirk Mitte is needed to improve access to Humboldthafen (Tiergarten) west of the Berlin-Spandau shipping channel and the Kieler Bruecke at Nordhafen (Wedding). Finally, the Treptow Bezirk is to cede a 1-hectare area at Koepenicker Strasse south of the Landwehrkanal and the Eternit company to Rudow (Neukoelln).

East Berlin, on the other hand, is interested at the sector boundary only in a 6-hectare strip west of Schwedter Strasse (Prenzlauer Berg District), which would have to be ceded by Wedding. Here it is a question of the roundhouse and depot area at the Eberswald freight station. Behind the wall lie the Friedrich Ludwig Jahn sports grounds.

In turn, the Senat hopes for greater gains on the northern and southwestern border of the city.

At Hottengrund (Kladow) east of the Luisenberge near Sacrow (Urban Kreis of Potsdam) 9 hectares would be added. An 8-hectare area is to be incorporated into the Idylle at the Luebars leisure park west of Moenchsmuehler Strasse (Pankow-Rosenthal).

Downright peculiar is the boundary situation between Staaken Ost and Staaken West. A 1.5-hectare strip west of Bergstrasse, the Nennhauser Damm and Finkenkruger Weg, while being part of the GDR Kreis of Nauen, lies this side of the border barriers. Incorporation in the Spandau District is envisaged. As reported recently, the GDR has already "loaned" the road area to West Berlin for 3 years--an unprecedented step which has been discreetly kept quiet. The reason for the loan: A rerouting because of the planned tunnels under the tracks in the area of Brandwerderweg and Magistratsweg. An investment in the future or a gift? In any case, the Senat has had the streets improved and widened, also on the Eastern side, and also seen to the restoration of the ramshackle bridge over the tracks.

Finally, the jagged boundary on the Teltowkanal near Albrechts Teerofen is to be straightened, which would amount to an accession of no less than 13 hectares for Zehlendorf at the expense of the GDR Teltow Kreis. Actually the GDR in turn wanted to cut itself a 6-hectare-thick slice at the end of the long-drawn-out Albrechts Teerofen quadrangle, where Checkpoint Dreilinden used to be located, but the Senat demurred because a tent area and a sports club are located there. Inhabited land has never been exchanged for inhabited land, you see. The GDR has refused that sort of exchange for its part.

The biggest objects of exchange, however, are the exclaves, and that is where substantial compensation for land beckons to the Eastern side. The origin of the exclaves goes back to the 19th century, when land in Prussia was surveyed to compute real estate tax. Real estate located outside the residential communities of their proprietors was allotted to the communities. Despite their location outside the city, they remained part of the Greater Berlin municipality established in 1920.

As a result of the territorial exchanges in 1971, the GDR received the Boettcherberg exclaves, Finkenkrug, the Grosse Kuhlake and the Nuthewiesen. Steinstuecken got the road to Zehlendorf, and the connection between Eiskeller and Berlin was also improved. Now the Lasszinswiesen, the Falkenhagener Wiesen and the Wueste Mark are to be absorbed in the GDR, Fichtewiese and Erlengrund are to get improved access, and the Grosse Kienhorst stretching toward Eiskeller is to be absorbed in Eiskeller.

Fichtewiese (3.5 hectares) and Erlengrund (0.5 hectares) lie very close to one another but separated by the boundary--on the GDR bank of the Havel west of Knoradshoehe, and north of the Spandauer Buergerablage in the GDR Kreis of Oranienburg, Raum Hennigsdorf, in the Falkenhagen State Forest. The Senat would like to join the separated exclaves and merge them with the Spandau District, which would amount to an acquisition of 12 hectares of land. Fichtewiese and Erlengrund are utilized for weekend lodgings. Access for owners and visitors so far has required special permission by the GDR authorities. Every spring the owners have to draw up name lists to be approved by the Eastern authorities.

The uninhabited and unutilized Grosse Kienhorst, 31.2 hectares in size, is to be ceded by the Falkenhagen State Forest to Eiskeller, and thus to Spandau.

The Lasszinswiesen, 11 hectares of land of no interest to West Berlin, which form part of Spandau but south of the Neierneuendorfer Kanal are likewise located in the Falkenhagen State Forest--without any access of human habitation--are to be ceded to the GDR. In turn, the Senat, however, aspires to 7.3 hectares of land south of the Lasszinswiesen which protrudes into Spandau.

Likewise without value, because they lack access and habitation, are the 45-hectare Falkenhagener Wiesen in Raum Falkensee in the GDR Kreis of Nauen. If they are ceded to the GDR, it would be the biggest gain for it as far as size goes.

Southwest of Albrechts Teerofen, without any direct access, lies the Wueste Mark in the Raum of Potsdam-Babelsberg. This 21.8-hectare exclave has made history as an agricultural area tended (with special access permission by the GDR) by a Zehlendorf farmer. Nevertheless it is on the Senat list of land to be ceded to the GDR--an action which is likely to require compensation from the Land budget to the proprietor.

#### There Are Additional Desires

As part of the first territorial exchanges in 1971, the Senat paid to the GDR "value compensation" in the amount of DM 4 million since, as the agreement stated, "there is no complete equality in area and value of the total territories to be exchanged."

The first agreement between the Senat and the GDR after the four-power agreement had gone into effect--3 June 1972--covered the West Berlin acquisition, in July 1972, of the area of the former Potsdamer Bahnhof [railway station] between Koethener Strasse, Reichpietschufer and Linkstrasse. This boundary correction without an exchange of land cost the municipality DM 31 million.

The straightening of the boundary now under consideration does not put an end to all problems by any means. For instance, Zehlendorf all along has been desirous of an exonerative land reallocation in Wannsee where Babelsberg land "has a grip on" the area of the Boettcherberge. Already during the reallocation of the Boettcherberg exclaves in 1971 this was not accomplished, however, because inhabited houses are located on the Eastern side.

The boundaries runs very close to the Glienicker Hunting Lodge, circles the Boettcherberg and also divides the Griebnitz Lake. Zehlendorf Mayor Klemann in vain advocated that the Glienicker Lanke and Griebnitz Lake also be opened to private shipping.

Another persistent traffic obstacle in the middle of the city, while it has nothing to do with boundary corrections, can only be solved by coordination with the Eastern side. It is the Nadeloehr [eye of the needle] at Sachsendamm, where the city autobahn construction toward the southeast has come to a halt between Schoeneberger Kreuz and Ringbahnstrasse. The dilemma: Part of the old Sachsendamm bridges have to be modified to allow construction

to continue. What is required is an authorization by the GDR "Reichsbahn," which continues to have the operating authority for railroad traffic in West Berlin, just as it used to have for the S-Bahn [intraurban electric railroad], as long as the Allies have jurisdiction.

The authorization is being delayed. The Senat construction administration assumes that for political reasons it is not to be given until the fate of the south freight depot (up in the air), which the Senat of course wants to renegotiate, is decided. It does happen to be true that in the inter-German and inter-Berlin relationship somehow everything depends on everything else.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CIRCULATION FIGURES FOR PERIODICALS REPORTED

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 149, Oct 85 p 3

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 1 Oct 85: "The Number of Publications in the GDR Has Increased"]

[Text] The number and circulation of publications which appear in the GDR has increased in recent years. The number of publications in the GDR rose back up to 1,788 by 1984, with a record total circulation of 43.99 million copies. This was despite the paper shortage which led to the discontinuation or restricted circulation of a number of magazines and newspapers, as well as to briefer editions. Among other things, over 20 magazines of various types were founded in the seventies and eighties, including the civil defense magazine "Schuetzen und Helfen" ("Protect and Aid") which is published by the Ministry for National Defense.

A large portion of the publications appearing in the GDR belong to the SED. This includes some 680 newspapers and magazines whose circulation, according to official statistics, has remained constant or increased. The SED central organ, "Neues Deutschland", is in first place with a circulation of over a million. The "Berliner Zeitung", which belongs to the SED, and the 14 district (Bezirke) party newspapers have a combined circulation of over 5 million copies. As it states in an East German press analysis, the large combined circulation of the SED district newspapers, which is unmatched by any other type of publication in the GDR, insures that the SED will have an "unusually high mass influence." The SED district newspapers, which appear in 214 local editions, are read in the great majority of households in the GDR. Their circulation has increased from 4.56 million copies in 1980 to 4.9 million copies in 1983.

Other SED organs have relatively high circulations, too: the theoretical party magazine "Einheit" runs at over 250,000 copies, and the magazines "Fragen des Parteilebens" and "Neuer Weg" run over 200,000 copies. The "Neue Deutsche Bauernzeitung" appears with a circulation of over 160,000 copies. The more than 650 factory papers of the SED have a circulation of two million copies.

In addition, in the beginning of the eighties in the GDR, 25 newspapers and magazines of the communist GDR youth organization, FDJ, and the united union FDGB appeared. There were 22 publications of the so-called block parties DBD,

CDU, LDPD, and the NDPD, 49 publications of central national organs, and 467 newspapers and magazines by social organizations and institutes. In addition there were 151 central information notices of social organizations and 370 local periodicals. In 1983 churches and religious communities published 34 weekly newspapers and magazines.

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HUNGARY

KADAR WELL ENTRENCHED DESPITE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Oct 85 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Kadar's System Remains in Force"]

[Text] Budapest, late October--In Hungary the story goes around that especially two things have induced the authorities to change their original goodwill towards the "alternative event" to the cultural forum in Budapest jointly planned by Western and Hungarian intellectuals: first of all, the constant use of the term "against" in identifying the event, above all in the Western press; secondly, "the sudden high degree of organization" with numbers of participants which exceeded every originally planned figure. It is added that the organizers of this "counterevent" should have been somewhat "more flexible."

Even though it has to be admitted that an event "against" the official cultural forum of the signatory states of the Helsinki Act would indeed have made hardly any sense--it was not conceived in this manner--there still remains the fact that culture and cultural exchange cannot be state events exclusively. According to Western opinion, free discussions on culture do not need to be banished to private homes, as they did during Metternich's times. Few Western speakers have expressed themselves as openly on the topic as did the head of the German delegation. Others shied away from such expressions with the justification that the situation must not be made more difficult for the Hungarians. This view does not testify particularly to political understanding: for, if Hungary receives pressure only from one side, it is even more difficult for Budapest to hold its ground against such pressure, at least within the framework of a multilateral event.

Now, despite the prestige value, the cultural forum in final analysis is likely to remain only an episode for Hungary. It is politically more significant how the regime in Budapest can shape its relationship to the new Soviet leadership headed by party chief Gorbachev. Talks with well informed Hungarian partners provide approximately the following picture: The dynamics that Gorbachev has introduced into the Soviet society and into the economy is to be assessed as a positive factor; at any rate, Hungary does not consider it necessary to restrict its reform course; the latter will be continued. Accordingly, party secretary Kadar during his latest visit to Moscow did not have to achieve "agreement" on certain questions but has only laid the general foundation to enable the subordinate agencies to reach agreement. Moscow neither "permits" nor "prohibits"

anything so easily any more. Budapest is aware that Hungary has made considerable headway; the Soviet reforms would undoubtedly not come close to being as far-reaching. In Gorbachev's reform concept, it is stated, there is obviously no place for the market as a regulator or for the idea of currency convertibility.

It is stated in Budapest that Hungary is ready to participate in strengthening cooperation in the East Bloc and even to make sacrifices for that. If U.S. armament forces "closing the armament gap" in the East, Hungary would participate even if it had to obtain new credits for this purpose. But this Hungarian readiness is not unconditional: In CEMA, it is stated, the increased cooperation should take place on a "modern" basis, including monetary factors. Moreover, the cooperation must have its limit where sovereignty is involved; CEMA's time is "not ripe" for supranational competences. As regards foreign policy, the statement continues to be true that Hungary wants to be a "solidary ally and a reliable partner." According to what is said in Budapest, Hungary did not accept the threat made by former Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Bonn according to which Western efforts to close the armament gap would throw back the relations with the East to their starting point and it will not accept such a thesis in the future either.

Such explanations lead to the conclusion that Hungary now considers its internal achievements and its foreign policy ideas, both of which were markedly strengthened during the Soviet interregnums, as sufficiently consolidated to regard it as a definitive guideline for the foreseeable future regardless of who governs in Moscow. Apparently, it is said, the socialist system can now stand considerable differences from country to country. For example, the question is asked in Budapest, who would believe that Hungary and Romania are countries of the same socialist system.

Nevertheless Hungary has difficulties. Economically this year is unfavorable. While the net position on goods and services in the balance of payment in 1984 achieved a surplus of about \$ 350 million with the convertible area, this year they will be happy to reach approximately the same amount. Debts could not be repaid. The severe winter necessitated additional imports, especially of sources of energy, but there have also been more imports otherwise and certain difficulties have also been encountered at the same time in exports. Thus the losses caused by declining prices for agricultural products on the world market amounted to about \$ 200 million. Budapest newspapers point out that in overcoming economic crises it is not always possible to think "restrictively," i.e. in terms of voluntary restriction of consumption and import restrictions, but one must think "offensively": One has to strive towards more effective structural changes. Next year, according to the prognoses, things are likely to look up again.

In domestic policy, too, adjustments suggest themselves. Kadar, it is true, has retired to a patriarch-like position but his system tested in recent years still operates. Among other things, it consisted in having under him a group of six or seven people with more or less equal rights, whereby the party chief saw to it that none of them possessed too much power. Only few of these people are, e.g., simultaneously in the Politburo and in the Central Committee Secretariat. This system functioned as long as Kadar held the reins but now these subordinate exponents all have become points of crystallization of certain interests, views

or trends around which clientèles have formed. The opinion is expressed that this is by no means a drawback but it lacks the institutional foundation. What is important is to channel the developing plurality in the party. Therefore it is important to see to a degree of democratization of the party, while maintaining "democratic centralism." This democratization of the party is now regarded as even more important than the other aspects of democratization, such as a further loosening of the process in parliamentary and local elections or democratization in the enterprises where there have also been negative experiences or the activation of the parliament, especially the work in the committees. All this, it is being stated, is important but in final analysis what is important in the first place is the condition of the party.

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CSO: 3620/83

HUNGARY

TIME SHARING PLAN ADVERTISED TO ATTRACT FOREIGN CAPITAL

Budapest MAGYAR HIREK in Hungarian 22 Aug 85 p 9

[Advertisement: MAGYAR HIREK is the Hungarian language monthly sent to emigres abroad put out by the Hungarian Government-backed world federation of Hungarians]

[Text] One of the newest and highly successful Hungarian travel bureaus, the Pegazus Tours, offers a novel and apparently popular approach to holiday diversions, with a change of pace for those tired of today's rat race. The so-called "tanyasi udules", holiday on the farm could be briefly characterized as light-years away from the banes of civilization, yet but a few kilometers from its blessings.

Pegazus offers fully remodeled farm homes, equipped with all conveniences, which still fully retain their original character and charm, for holiday stay: far from towns and highways, deep in the woods or meadows. At the same time these farm homes are located within a few minutes' drive to Pegazus sport centers with tennis courts, swimming pool, horse riding tracks and naturally restaurants awaiting the vacationers. This style of vacation is exceptionally popular, particularly with tourists arriving from Western Europe and from overseas.

There are many return visitors, who spend their vacations on a Hungarian holiday farm home year after year. The offer by Pegazus Tours offers new possibilities mainly for them. While the cost of a farm home vacation is by no means exorbitant, it is not exactly inexpensive for a prolonged stay. A farm with all modern conveniences, two bedrooms, living room, fully equipped kitchen, bathroom and a large garden will cost on the average some \$250 or about 750 DM weekly. The offer by Pegazus is substantially cheaper, and in a given case, it may be a source of income as well. One can purchase 10 years' vacation privilege on the farm of one's choice, by investing a small capital into the so-called "time sharing" system of Pegazus.

Pegazus rents a farm, which has been or is being completely remodeled, to 5 participants for 10 years. Each of the 5 partners pays a sum of \$4,000 and receives the right to the house for one-fifth of a year annually for 10 years. Owing to the nature of the Hungarian climate, the May-September season is the most valuable, therefore each part-owner receives at least one beautiful

spring, summer, or autumn month. Calculating even on this basis, the weekly cost of vacationing comes to \$100, i.e. a 60 percent saving over the current rates.

Obviously few families, no matter how dedicated to Hungary and to the romantic character of nature in it, can or want to spend a month here every year. They will have full control over the utilization of their month; they may lend it to their friends, or rent it to any paying tenant. If they do not wish to be bothered by renting yet do not want to squander their money, Pegazus will gladly manage the rental of the house at the current higher rates as mentioned earlier. The share-owner receive their profits in convertible hard currency, which can be deposited into a Hungarian bank account, or can be transferred to an account in their home country. Of course one participant may purchase several monthly "rights".

We have mentioned previously that these houses combining the city conveniences with the romance of rural life lie only a few kilometers from a Pegazus Tour Center. Let's speak briefly about them. The three most important such bases are located at Szentbekkalla--a few kilometers north of the Lake Balaton at the foot of the Bakony Mountain; Bugac Puszta--perhaps the best known settlement of the Kiskunsag National Park; Sarlospuszta--at one of the most picturesque spots of the endless Hungarian Plains. Each offers lodging in addition to the sports facilities and restaurant services. The availability of tennis, sauna and the good Hungarian wines need no special comment. Far more interesting is the excellent horse back riding opportunities awaiting tourists. One can take carriage rides if so inclined, interested candidates may even receive introduction into the mysteries of competition harness racing by top-rated, world class Hungarian drivers.

To the devotees of culinary delights, special adventures are offered at all three locations. Lovers of the flavorful, spicy Hungarian food not only get a taste of it, but have an opportunity to learn the preparation secrets of some dishes with the help of master chefs.

Similar active participation is available to folk art aficionados. Authentic folk artists will teach the skills of weaving, spinning, pottery and woodcarving to the nimble-fingered applicants. No travel souvenir can be more treasured than the "original" folk art created by the traveler himself.

Returning to the farms, they also offer active rest. The nearby farms and villages are still inhabited by Hungarian families. They will gladly show, how to take care of the animals and what kind of work there is around a village farm. Housewives accustomed to end of the twentieth century civilization, such as being familiar with only kitchen-ready supermarket freezer chickens, here can learn how with almost magic swiftness, the chicken running around the yard becomes a delicious soup.

Last, but not least, we must talk about the children. For them every minute, every step on the farm hold new or surprises, discovery or adventure. Here no child will miss the around-the-clock glare of the television; nature's

marvels will make them forget their favorite horror or cartoon heroes during the days spent here.

For information on Pegazus farm vacations, or on the Time Sharing system, contact with full confidence the travel bureau located in Budapest:

Address: Budapest, 1053. Karolyi M. u. 5.

Phone: (361) 171-644

Telex: 22-4674

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CSO: 2500/574

HUNGARY

ROUNDTABLE REFLECTS CONCERN OVER 'NATIONAL CONSENSUS'

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian No 5, 1985 pp 5-19

[Roundtable discussion with Gyorgy Fejti (first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Megye MSZMP Committee), Istvan Derfalvi (first secretary of the Budapest 2d District MSZMP Committee), Laszlo Kemeny (section chief within the MSZMP Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department), and Istvan Petrovszki (director of the MSZMP Central Committee's Party and Mass Organizations Department); moderator, Denes Maros of the PROPAGANDISTA staff]

[Text] A basic task in our time is to strengthen and maintain the party's unity for the realization of socialist society's objectives. Proceeding from the principle that unity does not arise automatically, and that political, organizational and action unity must be attained again and again under the changing conditions, a roundtable held in our editorial office has attempted to define the role of party propaganda in this ongoing activity. The members of the roundtable were: Gyorgy Fejti (first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Megye MSZMP Committee), Istvan Derfalvi (first secretary of the Budapest 2d District MSZMP Committee), Laszlo Kemeny (a section chief with the MSZMP Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department), and Istvan Petrovszki (director of the MSZMP Central Committee's Party and Mass Organizations Department). Denes Maros represented our editorial office.

[PROPAGANDISTA] Before examining the present-day tasks, let us briefly review what has characterized the shaping of party unity in recent decades.

Istvan Petrovszki: I do not think that a detailed historical analysis is necessary. But what is directly linked to the present is that in 1957 the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party acknowledged its historical past, the virtues and mistakes of the Hungarian Communist movement, drew from them the necessary lessons, reinstated the Leninist norms, and reasserted the principles of democratic centralism. The practice of our party has withstood the test of time, and we have no reason to significantly change this principled policy and proven practice, or to question their foundations. The party's ideological, political, organizational and action unity--which is a close, dialectical unity--asserts itself within our party. In 1957 our party declared--and has remained

consistent since then on this issue--that we are pursuing a principled policy; which means respect for the principles of Marxism-Leninism, their further development in a constructive manner, and a policy formulated on this basis. Proceeding from the concept of struggle on two fronts, this policy does not treat theory as dogma, but neither does it allow room for the spreading of revisionist views. Our party's policy reflects international elements, the general laws of building socialism, as well as national characteristics, the characteristics of the history, present situation, and foreseeable future of the Hungarian people. A policy formulated on these principles has been, is and will remain the guarantee that policy reflects the mutual trust between the party and the people, the universal social interest, the interests of the Hungarian people. The party is united in adopting and implementing this policy, as evident from our socialist achievements and our country's development.

Laszlo Kemeny: Let me add that ideological, political, organizational and action unity is also a historical category. Its interpretation has differed in various periods in the past, and also in the future its content will continuously adjust to our environment and reality, determined by them.

[PROPAGANDISTA] We have listed some of the factors that create and strengthen unity: the determining role of reality, mutual trust between the party and the people, the interest of society, and principled policy. How would you describe the recreation and reinforcement of unity?

Laszlo Kemeny: First of all, unity must not be perceived as monolithic unity. Unity does not mean that everyone always says the same thing, adopts the same standpoint on everything; or than everyone agrees entirely on everything and therefore acts in the same manner. Unity--be it ideological and political, or organization and action unity--always arises from variety.

Istvan Petrovszki: In the sense that although I have emphasized the need for all elements of unity to the present jointly, from the viewpoint of party work we must examine them also separately nonetheless. The requirement of ideological unity within the party must be formulated differently than political or action unity. We cannot expect a simple blue-collar worker to have a profound knowledge of ideology, and to completely identify with it on the basis of such knowledge. We cannot expect this of him in the same way that we can of a party member who is an intellectual, especially one who is assigned to an ideological workshop. When we speak of ideological unity, we must concentrate first of all on unity among the Communists who are studying and propagating ideological questions, because the absence of unity among them may lead even to political confusion. For example, there is often uncertainty even among party members regarding the present effectiveness of Marxism. This uncertainty is a warning that ideological unity sometimes is lacking in the ideological workshops, the circles within which a consensus must be reached in the debates held with the intention of constructively developing Marxism further. After all, what policy we are pursuing depends to a large extent on what ideology we are supporting within the party. Therefore it is extremely important that we interpret in the same way the fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism. The further development of Marxism-Leninism, the modernization of its precepts, is formulated by persons who are knowledgeable, through synthesis in the course of debate. The theory developed and adopted in this manner is the basis for

studying, propagating, supporting, defending and implementing policy, which is already the task of every party member.

Gyorgy Fejti: This question has one aspect that is related directly to propaganda. The statistics on how many people have become acquainted with the principles of Marxism-Leninism in school, through instruction within the party or KISZ, and through various courses, are fascinating, but at the same time they also provide food for thought. We may justifiably say that the level of general and political education is substantially higher than it used to be in recent decades. But even today we encounter questions which, we may think, we have already covered. We have not gotten beyond them. On the one hand, this is a warning of weaknesses in our propaganda work, and that we must constantly return to the fundamentals because of the requirements. On the other hand, we must take into consideration that theoretical knowledge is not the same as conviction, as intellectual and emotional identification.

A great, if not the greatest, shortcoming of our propaganda work is that we often are satisfied with passive acceptance. Precepts and truths are voiced, we practically "promulgate" the decisions and standpoints of the higher organs, and then everybody goes about his business. We cannot save ourselves debate that serves to explain and convince; it is always action that suffers when we skimp on debate. The forums of propaganda work, if they are functioning properly, cannot limit themselves exclusively to transmitting and theoretically substantiating the party's program and objectives. The understanding of policy, and especially identification with it, can be a result only of active participation in politics. And this requires open and meaningful debate, allowing contrasting opinions to clash. Naturally, it is not all the same where and what we want to debate. It is fruitless to provoke debate on ideological details in an environment whose members are concerned with other matters. A prerequisite for meaningful debate is that its subject or topic be linked to the participants' scope of interest, and that it take their level of training into consideration. In my opinion, only the unity "agonized and labored over" in such debate can be lasting and enduring. At the same time this is a prerequisite for understanding and unity to manifest themselves also in actions and deeds. I consider party discipline very important. But it is not enough to cite party discipline as the reason when we are agitating in support of some standpoint or decision. We need arguments in support of policy and for the training of party members. We must explain the reasons underlying the adopted decisions. And it is expedient to mention also the considered alternatives and the purposefully made compromises, the fact that new contradictions necessarily arise as we solve each problem.

Istvan Derfalvi: I think we cannot avoid the question of how party members regard party unity. Some of them are concerned because they find that party unity is weakening. Unity, I believe, never has been and never can be absolute. Debates on party unity usually erupt when the party and its members are struggling to solve some difficult problem. For then it is also more difficult to recreate party unity. Consider the socialist reorganization of agriculture or the economic reform's initial period. The world around us has unquestionably become more complicated, and there are more questions awaiting answers. The rise in the party members' level of general and political education is unquestionably one of our significant achievements, but it also means that large

numbers of party members are showing interest in questions that did not concern them before. Thus, the multiplication of questions is due not only to a more complicated world, but to a higher level of education as well. Many party members are unable to see clearly amidst the contradictions of reality, and they are no longer satisfied with our answers that proved suitable yesterday. And I would hesitate to attribute this to propaganda alone. Self-confidence has been undermined because our earlier conception of socialism has undergone modification, and truths believed to be "eternally valid" are not proving true. It should be noted that Marxism never had such absolute truths, but we have failed to make party members sufficiently aware of the contradictory nature of development. Our relations have become more complicated, both in the economy and society, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to evaluate and reconcile interests. Bearing all this in mind, I still think that the concerns of some people are exaggerated, especially of those who feel concerned but may not have done everything in their power to strengthen unity. I am convinced that our tasks in conjunction with recreating and strengthening unity are not general ones; the conflicts and debated questions are specific. Therefore we must let views clash, because without debate we cannot make any progress in, say, perfecting macroeconomic management. A frequently quoted idea raised at the 13th MSZMP Congress is that society must assess our situation more realistically. The congress has provided clear answers to the most comprehensive questions and has adopted a program for our future, but we must not think that with this the debates have ended. They are continuing within the party organizations, and rightfully so.

Gyorgy Fejti: Here I would like to mention that we are encountering time and again a voluntaristic approach to the questions. The view as to why "the party has not solved" this or that problem. We must make people realize that the solution of our problems is not simply a question of determination and does not depend merely on "acknowledging" our problems. We must not confuse our aspirations with our possibilities. To remain persistently credible, policy must be based on realities; it must schedule for decision only the questions that are ripe for decision; and must ensure the financial, material and personnel provisions necessary for the implementation of the decisions.

Laszlo Kemeny: We have listed a good many factors to prove that party unity emerges from diversity. We have also noted that unity does not arise automatically, is not absolute and eternally valid, but must be created anew essentially on every question and in every situation. And that ideological work, propaganda, plays a decisive role in this. Viewed from a different aspect, we must pursue a policy that is based on firm principles but is suitably flexible to adapt and adjust to the changes; a policy behind which we are able to line up the various social strata. Thus, policy itself has a unity-creating role. For this role to assert itself, policy must be suitably publicized and explained, and its acceptance gained. Consequently, propaganda has an important function in creating unity. Not incidentally, party unity also has mass influence, and only a united party is able to influence the masses. Historical experience proves that society's unity, too, breaks up when the party's unity does. When the party is united in its action, the influence of this unity upon entire society is far more dynamic and wider; party unity is better able to integrate the search for various solutions within society; and thereby it is able to create social and political unity.

Party unity does not mean a consensus, and it is no accident that democratic centralism is the party's organizing principle. There must be unity in the implementation of policy and in propagating the views crystallized in debate; in other words, in the practical realization of the party's ideological and political standpoints. Without this, there can be no party unity.

[PROPAGANDISTA] We are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that our society is highly structured, and that there exist personal, group and stratum interests side by side. Party unity arises, and is recreated, through the confrontation of interests, which necessarily presupposes that in the decisions the interests are assigned priorities.

Istvan Petrovszki: Party unity does not exist simply because we declare it. Rather, its existence depends on the extent to which all party members identify with Marxist principles, and with the policy that the party is implementing. It is quite true that the problems in the forefront of attention during various phases of historical development are always different. Depending on what place he occupies in the social division of labor, the views that this or that party member holds differ. These differences of opinion do not mean that party unity is absent. Decisive is how the principle of democratic centralism asserts itself. In other words, how unified is the support of the collective standpoint that is adopted after letting the different views clash in debate. Today there are debates and differences of opinion, and they may be voiced in accordance with the principles of party life. What we are striving to achieve is that it become a general and natural practice for party members to uniformly support, realize or implement the standpoint that emerges from a confrontation of differing views within debate that is conducted in accordance with the principles of party life.

Also the 13th MSZMP Congress has stated that the passivity of a proportion of the party members and their failure to espouse party policy are creating problems from time to time. One reason for this is also the fault of party propaganda: we do not explain adequately to the Communists how to interpret what. The Communists must know where to stand if we demand of them that they be unified in espousing the party's standpoints, supporting its decisions and, if necessary, in defending its policy. And we can hardly demand this of the party members if we do not tell them what to support and how, and if we fail to prepare them for the standpoints they must espouse. It is very important, on the one hand, that we conduct agitative propaganda, in which the exposition of policy is accompanied by an explanation of its theoretical foundations. And on the other hand, that the leaders and officials of the party organs and organizations regard it their duty, by virtue of their office, to brief the Communists and to keep them continuously informed about the decisions. So far as the reconciliation of interests is concerned, democratic centralism provides the conditions for this; but the interests, of course, must not be in conflict with the party's adopted policy. It is obvious that views conflicting with party policy cannot be voiced or tolerated within the party, and individual or group interests cannot be given preference over policy that reflects the interests of society, because in that moment party unity would disintegrate.

Istvan Derfalvi: In the practice of the party organizations it often happens that they, by supporting the interests of society as a whole or long-term

objectives, come into conflict with local or enterprise interests, and occasionally with solutions that are advantageous short term. I do not believe that such an assignment of roles would be a very fortunate one. I am not saying that this would be an obstacle to forming party unity; but it is certain that debate is the more necessary in such cases.

Istvan Petrovszki: A more complicated structure is a natural concomitant of society's development. And to this there is added a more fulfilled social democracy. Accordingly, it is a political interest to strengthen the process by which state, social and economic organs and organizations are becoming independent. The party members are living within specific social collectives whose interests they must espouse, but only so long as these interests are not in conflict with the interests of society as a whole. This is not easy, but usually it is possible. Therefore we must reckon with the fact that we may have to recreate and strengthen unity on such a "difficult terrain." Which adds to the responsibility and tasks of the party organizations and territorial party organs; of each and every one of us, we might say.

Gyorgy Fejti: In the present, more difficult and more complicated period, when we are increasingly forced to face the dilemmas of asserting interests at one another's expense, the question may arise as to whether party unity and--over and above it--the unity of society might be jeopardized by allowing interests to clash more openly. Can we have any option other than politics that allows also the open and frank collisions of interests? The only conclusion we may draw from our party's experience, and also from the documents of the 13th MSZMP Congress and the contributions to its debate, is that our only realistic possibility is to develop further our agitation and propaganda work and tolerate conflicts and debate, but with the intention and determination not to let the conflicts become acrimonious, and debate to violate the principles of party life. I am convinced that the primacy of entire society's interest can be understood and its acceptance gained, already because the assertion of society's interests in the long run can make way for the interests of the various strata. And it is likewise certain that entire society's interests and personal interests, the basic interests within socialist society, are not opposites. The only exceptions are the wishes and expectations that cannot be reconciled with society's aspirations, and manifestations and phenomena that are foreign to socialist society, such as looting, unearned incomes, etc.

Social consensus on principal issues can be maintained specifically by including the widest possible social strata in setting the priorities of the tasks awaiting us. But we must take cognizance of the fact that there are issues --and there are likely to be more especially in the future--on which the views of various social groups and individuals may continue to differ, temporarily or permanently. Instead of the question of party unity, however, here I have in mind the party's policy of alliance, its contacts with the masses. It is an old precept of propaganda work that we have only as many followers as the number of people we have been able to convince. This is particularly true in the case of our allies outside the party. They can be won over and convinced primarily by persons who themselves participate in making the decisions, and do not merely carry them out. From the viewpoint of strengthening our policy of alliance and maintaining social consensus, therefore, the widening of socialist democracy and the meaningful operation of mechanisms for the reconciliation of interests are of ever greater importance.

Laszlo Kemeny: I endorse conviction because a very important idea, also from the viewpoint of analyzing party unity, states that unity cannot be created on command. Party unity is based on conviction. If somebody does not accept the party's policy with conviction, he is unable to espouse and support it. Or more accurately, the words of such a person do not have credence, and he cannot gain the confidence of those we would like to win over. Conviction--or belief if you wish--plays a decisive role in the recreation of unity at any given time. The process of attaining conviction starts with gaining knowledge, with arguments that prove this to be the optimal policy in the given period and under the given conditions; a policy in which the interests are synthesized; one that takes the realistic possibilities into consideration and sets specific objectives. If we know all this, if we have a suitable arsenal of arguments for agitation and propaganda, then the party's unity is reflected also outward. Then the Communists are able to profess this policy as their faith.

Istvan Petrovszki: It is indeed true that in the course of preparing decision we must resort more and more frequently to reconciling interests, inspiring debate, and letting views clash. If we wish to formulate a policy that serves the interests of society, we have to gather the information for this purpose on the scale of entire society, and listen to the views and proposals of the Communists. On the other hand, stricter discipline must be demanded of party members to regard as binding the policy formulated in this manner, and to assert and support within the framework of this policy the interests of their own group, collective, enterprise and workplace. It should be possible to interpret only uniformly the policy that has been adopted jointly, and within these limits there should be the freedom of motion that the party organizations may enjoy in their own areas.

Laszlo Kemeny: To maintain and recreate party unity, propaganda needs foresight. Which means that we must strive for political work among the masses that is able to predict the social processes; that leads the socioeconomic processes, instead of trailing them. We need propaganda that maps the social, political and economic processes which may take place in the coming period. Their causes and influencing factors, and what ideas and actions the socioeconomic processes will evoke in the people. In other words, what consciousness we can expect and prepare for; relying, of course, also on ideology and the instruments of propaganda work. These are the elements from which the function of propaganda can be formed. In the past year or two, there have been perceptible signs of interpreting propaganda in this manner.

Foresighted propaganda requires two things: a "rear" of ideological awareness, without which the economic "front" is unable to operate and becomes defenseless in some situations. The 13th MSZMP Congress has defined very specifically the trends and objectives of our socioeconomic development, and I am convinced that the ideological conditions for it are given. Regarding the other requirement, we have to coordinate the set of instruments for ideological and propaganda work, primarily in terms of their content. So that the mass media, dissemination of information, cultural activity and political education--in other words, everything that influences the awareness of the people--will all act in the same direction. While, of course, each of them employs its own style, methods and instruments. Together with its continuation, the national conference on "The Capitalism of the 1980's, Its Crisis and Search for Solutions"

may be cited as a good example. Our purpose has been to form a more realistic awareness of capitalism. Similar solutions can be recognized here and there also in interpreting the socialism of our time. From the past two years I could mention the course "Timely Ideological and Political Questions." The fact, for example, that in the latest educational year our propaganda lectures on 93 topics have provided answers to new questions, building on a suitable theoretical foundation and with the participation of the creative workshops.

But with our propaganda we must also achieve--and this is very essential--that the people, the party officials, learn to think independently and to make decisions. There are situations for which prescriptions cannot be given from the outside. It is possible and necessary to teach and learn how to analyze the situation and processes, how to provide answers on the basis of local knowledge and theoretical substantiation, and occasionally how to make decisions.

Istvan Derfalvi: I think the criticism is justifiable that the relaying of information is slow. Much has yet to be improved in the instruments and methods of propaganda and agitation. But there is no perfect information system that could free us of the obligation to improve ourselves. Political work increasingly demands expertise, by which I mean primarily political expertise. The party organizations and leaderships, of course, are not experts in technical, economic, cultural and other matters, but they are able to treat the political aspects of such questions and to grasp their essence. They should adopt standpoints only on questions about which they have sufficient information; but not on every detail; and not in matters that are the responsibility of economic managers.

Propaganda has a role also in developing political expertise. Furthermore, in letting democracy assert itself also within propaganda. In other words, propaganda must rid itself of its perfunctory elements, because perfunctoriness necessarily acts against democracy and bars the road to debate and the exchange of views. It should be noted that here we have been discussing democracy in the preparation of social decisions, something that the party congress also considered. This idea meets with the party membership's approval. But party officials tend to remember less frequently that local decisions, too, require preparation, and not necessarily only at the membership meeting.

Laszlo Kemeny: Within the system of party education, democracy is a given possibility. We have long been fighting against every kind of formalism.

Istvan Derfalvi: I have not mentioned combating formalism merely as a central task.

Laszlo Kemeny: Formalism's liquidation depends on two factors. First, let there be a choice, instead of letting party education function in a rigid and limited structure. Secondly, let the questions and comments that arise in party education be built into the party organization's life. They must not remain the voice crying in the wilderness. It is essential that party education do not dwell on abstract theories. Real problems and questions of daily politics should be discussed, although with exacting theoretical demands. From the viewpoint of strengthening party unity, I regard as propaganda's most timely task to line up the party members behind the implementation of the resolutions

that the 13th MSZMP Congress adopted. With the course "Timely Questions of Our Social Development" in mass education, we would like to achieve that all party members understand why specifically these, rather than some other, decisions have been adopted by the congress, what interrelations underly these decisions, and how the resolutions can be implemented. The course elaborates eight topics that discuss all questions of society's development, in their interrelations. We would like this course to become a series of meaningful debates that strengthen party unity. And it is by no means of secondary importance that suitable standards must be maintained in debate. Let us argue, accept the arguments or present counterarguments.

[PROPAGANDISTA] How do party unity, propaganda and conviction tie in with the requirement formulated at the 13th MSZMP Congress that "the party's leading role must be strengthened, and its ideological and political influence must be broadened further"?

Gyorgy Fejti: The basis for asserting the party's leading role is first of all a sound policy. The unity of elaborated and scientifically substantiated principles, and of practical realization. This is where the party's policy can become a truly national program; and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the recognized leading force. Therefore it is essential that the Communists' work, conduct and life-style be worthy of party members, so that they may be free of everything against which the party is fighting.

Istvan Petrovszki: Mutual trust between the party and the people is based on sound policy. We would like to further strengthen this trust; and propaganda and the party members must play an enormous role in this. Namely, it is becoming increasingly necessary that the relationship between the party and the masses arise not only as an indirect relationship, through organizations, but also as a direct relationship between Communists and nonmembers. In the sense that the Communists propagate, support, defend if necessary, and implement this policy at home, among friends and at their workplace; that they gain respect for themselves, and thereby for the party, through their personal behavior, work, humaneness and honesty. This can multiply our strength. The Communists must clearly understand that the party's relations with the masses depend primarily on how the party members support party policy, what example they set, how many people they are able to win for the cause, how they are able to mobilize, and how well they can implement policy.

1014  
CSO: 2500/65

HUNGRY

## COMMUNIQUE ON TRADE UNION ELECTIONS

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 31 Aug 85 p 7

[Text] According to the provisions of the constitution of the Hungarian Trade Unions and the resolutions of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] elections will begin on the first of September 1985. Elected according to this:

--by October 15th, shop stewards, chief shop stewards executive shop steward and their deputies;

--by November 15th, the leadership organizations of the basic trade unions and the mid-level organizations of the countries, Budapest, trusts, large enterprises and institutions;

--by December 31st, county and Budapest trade union councils (szmt, szbt);

--by 1 February 1986, the election of the central leadership of the trade unions of the industrial sector will take place.

The Hungarian Trade Union's 25th Congress will be held on February 14, 15, 16, 1986. It will choose the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], the SZOT leadership and its officers.

These elections are an important event for the trade union movement and for the whole society. The Hungarian trade unions on this occasion will give an accounting on how they have realized the goals they accepted 5 years ago, how they used the trust of their membership and what goals they will set for themselves for the next 5 years. Along with the accounting and task determination, the trade unions will select their leadership organizations and officers. Close to 600,000 officers of the more than 4 million organized workers will be chosen.

The trade unions will carry out the election work along with their daily tasks. They are trying to further develop the quality of trade union work at every level and in every area, as well as to improve the protection and representation of interests. The election in this way serves as a large societal dialogue within the parameters of which the hundreds of thousands of trade union member conduct a creative open debate about the improvement of

life and working conditions, about common concerns, problems and ideas. The election will take place according to the rules of a significantly expanded electoral system formulated after a wide debate. The newly introduced principles strengthen the democratic features of the elections, enhance the membership's direct participation and give it a determining role in the selection of trade union officers. The new rules also widen the number of leaders who will be elected by the membership with secret ballot.

Any trade union member in good standing may be elected as a trade union officer. Shop stewards, chief stewards and executive shop stewards are nominated by the trade union member chosen for this role and the rest of the officers are nominated by the elected nominating committee. The requirement of the nominating work is that the nominated persons reflect the majority opinion of the electorate. The officers to be nominated will enjoy the confidence of the membership. Their political and professional training and aptitude is a guarantee that they can serve the interests of the working man.

In the basic organizations the preliminary list of nominees, formulated after conversations with the membership, must be made public at least 10 days prior to the election. The participants of the electoral meeting will decide in an open vote whether the nominees will be placed [as published] on the ballot. More than half of the votes are needed for this.

The shop stewards and their alternates are elected either through open or secret ballot, depending on the decision of the group (in the case of multiple candidates by secret ballot). All other officers except for those members on the various working and trade specialty committees of the governing bodies, are elected by secret ballot.

The candidate considered elected is the one who receives the most votes provided that he has received more than half of all the valid votes cast and that at least 2/3 of those eligible to vote have voted.

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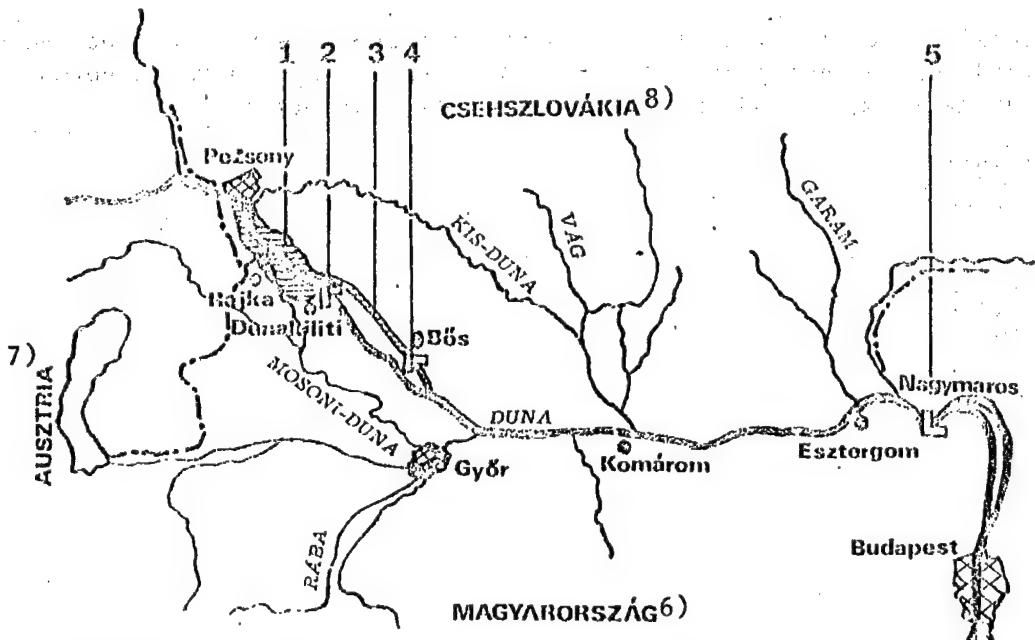
HUNGARY

## CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES OF GABCSIKOVO PROJECT ADDRESSED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 2 Sep 85 p 5

[Interview with Miklos Breinich by Antal Szalay: "Safety and the Protection of Natural Resources Are the Most Important"]

[Text] With the session of the government in mid-August, a debate has been concluded that has lasted for years and has engaged the attention of a wide sector of the public. An answer was furnished to the many questions surrounding the construction of the Bos (Gabcsikovo)-Nagymaros water project by the decision of the Council of Ministers and the investigators on which this decision was based. According to the present plan and in the spirit of the 1977 agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the power station at Bos will first produce electricity in 1990 and the station at Nagymaros in 1993. All construction will be finished by 1995.



A Bös-Nagymarosi vízelcsőrendszer vízelosztó helyszínrája. 1 - a dunakiliti tárzó, 2 - a dunakiliti duzzasztó, 3 - üzemvízcsatorna, 4 - a böszi vízelcső, 5 - a nagymarosi vízelcső

[Key on following page]

### Schematic of the Bos-Nagymaros water project

1. Reservoir at Dunakiliti
2. Dam at Dunakiliti
3. Canal
4. Dam at Bos
5. Dam and lock at Nagymaros
6. Hungary
7. Austria
8. Czechoslovakia

Although the planning of the water project was begun almost 4 decades ago, the debates affecting public opinion have become spirited mainly after 1978 at the time of the first earth-moving operations, primarily due to the justified fears of environmental experts who worried about the fate of the peerless natural resources of the Szigetkoz. The research and planning prior to construction was followed in the last few years by an environmental impact study which utilized the newest results of science. The conclusions of this study were incorporated into the plans.

[Question] What will the Bos-Nagymaros project look like? What changes and refinements have been made? How is it possible that this large intrusion into nature will not endanger the ecological balance of the surrounding area? These questions form the basis of our interview with Dr Miklos Breinich, the first deputy president of the National Water Board.

[Answer] The water project involves a 220-kilometer section of the Danube between Pozsony and Budapest--said the deputy president by way of introduction--and is part of the international goal of creating easily and safely navigable waterway between the Black Sea and the North Sea by way of the Danube, Rhine and Main rivers. In the past few years, in order to fully utilize these rivers, dams and power stations have been built or are in the process of construction on the Danube, according to a coordinated plan. One of these will be the Bos-Nagymaros system. As a result of the multiple uses to which the river will be put, flood crests will be channeled off with safety and we will open up a source of cheap energy.

[Question] These are the advantages. The question is whether a smaller intrusion could not produce the same beneficial results.

[Answer] On this stretch of the Danube navigation can hardly be further improved by dredging and by channeling the flow. Yet we are required to guarantee a water depth of 2.5 meters presently and 3.5 meters in the more distant future. Besides, it is also advantageous for us to have a cheap waterway so we can participate in international shipping. We would have to spend large sums just to protect ourselves from floods. The energy shortage urges every country to exploit alternative energy sources such as rivers. As a result of this water project, Hungary will receive 1.8 billion kilowatt-hours per year. Due to the nature of the system, much of this will be produced at peak consumption periods, greatly increasing the reliability of our power supply. This much energy is equivalent to 750,000 tons of petroleum.

[Question] Doubts have been raised not so much by economic considerations as by a consideration of the damages that accompany construction. Some of these can be expressed in financial terms but often the environmental consequences are the more important.

[Answer] In the past decade or two, nature and the environment have been at the center of public attention in most countries, and with some delay, also in Hungary. The economic and social benefits of man's intrusion into nature can be called into question by the damage done to the environment. It was for this reason that we had to initiate new investigations and why we had to modify some of our previous ideas.

[Question] The part of the Danube affected by the water project which is most sensitive to hydrologic and water level changes is the Szigetkoz. On the Szigetkoz floodplain one finds unmatched natural resources. Can these be saved?

[Answer] Yes. Let me tell you how, in detail. It follows from the nature of this area that the groundwater level is determined by the water level of the Danube, and that the valuable plants and animals owe their existence to the labyrinthine former river beds and tributary water courses. The amount of water in these former river beds also depends on the amount of water in the river. According to the original plan the water carried by the old main river bed would have been only 50-200 cubic meters per second because the major part of it would have been diverted into an artificial channel. While this is still much more than the flow in the Tisza river at low water, it would not have sufficed to keep water in the abandoned river beds and the watercourses of the floodplain, nor to maintain the level of the groundwater in agricultural areas.

[Question] Some of the participants in the discussions found this much water sufficient.

[Answer] Only under certain circumstances which the investigations have clarified. As far as agricultural production is concerned, it became apparent that plants receive their water supply not from groundwater which undergoes significant level changes with the amount of water in the Danube, but from precipitation. According to calculations, the level of the groundwater can be maintained at a particular value. This will put an end to the temporary springs that arise during floods and the flooding from inland bodies of water. The conditions of agricultural production will rather improve than deteriorate, especially if we consider that irrigation will also be possible.

[Question] Where will the water come from if diversion from the main river bed deceases the available flow?

[Answer] From two sources. First, there will be an elevation of the groundwater in another part of the affected segment. In the section where the level of the river rises due to the dams we will have a rise in the groundwater as well. This must be channelled away. The other source is the seepage from the reservoir. Experiments and calculations have shown that if one portion of

the water at our disposal is channelled directly into the abandoned river beds then the plants and animals will receive a sufficient supply. Even better, because of the ability to regulate, the potential for protecting nature will actually increase because in case of need enough water can be directed into the abandoned river beds or into the old main bed to maintain an ecological equilibrium.

[Question] This is an operational question, it reflects two contrasting interests. At times energy is produced, at times nature is protected. Is there a contradiction?

[Answer] No, twice no! First, because the need for energy from the power station exists primarily in the winter months. In the spring and the summer--the growing season--when plants need the most water, the production of energy can be reduced. Calculations and investigations indicate that this loss to energy generation is not significant.

[Question] On what basis is it decided where the water should go?

[Answer] When the system is operational, the most important consideration is the protection from floods. That is, during flooding the turbines will be stopped and the floodgates opened so that the flood can move through the artificial channel and the old river bed much more safely than at present. Another consideration of the operation is the maintenance of an ecological balance, the protection of natural resources. If there is danger of damage either in the main river bed or in the abandoned beds, fresh water will be directed there even if this means reducing the output of energy. In order to recognize the danger in time, a monitoring system will be constructed over the entire affected section which will indicate every change in the environment. These measurements will start 3 years before the dam will become functional so that there will be enough data for comparison.

[Question] All this does not solve the problem of sewage disposal.

[Answer] This problem can be solved only with the construction of sewage treatment plants. During the next 5-year plan, hand-in-hand with the implementation of the water project sewage treatment plants will be constructed at Györ, Komárom, Esztergom, Tatabánya and Oroszlány. The construction of the sewage treatment plants at Pozsony as well as at the settlements along the Vág tributary of the Danube has been started and the plant at Vienna is now complete. Less pollution will reach the Danube and the quality of the water will improve.

[Question] Many fear that the output of the drinking water wells along the river will decline.

[Answer] The water production from the wells will not decrease due to the dam because seepage from the reservoir will serve as a substitute water resource. A regional drinking water system will be built in the Szigetköz. The water project will have no effect on the wells below Nagymaros and on the supply of the capital. According to calculations and investigations, the fears of those

who warn of a natural catastrophe or of a flood from a possible collapse of the dams are without foundation. Even if all the impounded water were to flood down the Danube all at once, its level would only reach to the lower docks in Budapest.

[Question] Will the water project affect the border between the two countries?

[Answer] No. The border will be in the same place in the future where it is now and there will be no change regarding water rights. According to the interstate treaty, Hungary will have the same rights and responsibilities in regard to the artificial channel as it has with the present river bed.

12846/12379  
CSO: 2500/552

POLAND

UNITS PREPARE TO RECEIVE NEW RECRUITS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25 Oct 85 pp 1, 6

[Telephone survey conducted by Lt. Col. Janusz Borkowski: "Getting Ready to Receive Draftees", time and place not given]

[Text] Recently, specialists in various areas left the ranks of the army; after the period of compulsory basic military service they returned to civilian life. They left behind good memories and empty spaces in the ranks. These spaces are being filled by the next young generation of citizens who have the honor and the duty go get ready for the defense of the country.

Meanwhile, the preparations to receive the youngest soldiers have been completed or are about to be completed at various military units. This was the subject of our telephone survey of some units of our armed forces.

On the telephone, the chief of staff of the 1st Fighter Regiment of Home Air Defense Forces, the Warsaw regiment:

"Our preparations to receive the next class of recruits have been completed a few days ago. The principal element of these preparations was to set up and conduct courses for the regular cadre and the selected squad leaders. During these courses, we have reminded the attendees of the pedagogical principles to be applied to the newly enlisted men who are entering what is, for them, a strange environment. A lot of attention was devoted to the preparation of creature comfort and social conditions. The young soldiers will be entrusted to Lt. Jerzy Kielich, an experienced officer and educator. He will command them and teach the rudiments of military life until the day of ceremonial swearing in. As a unit with combat tradition, we have done everything possible to make sure that the draftees will feel at home from the moment they arrive."

In a unit belonging to the capital garrison, the deputy commander for political matters:

"Preparations for receiving the youngest soldiers are over. We have paid attention to the first encounter of draftees with the unit. This is of the utmost importance for the rest of their military service. During a specially organized course, we have increased the sensitivity of the regular cadre, who

are responsible for receiving the draftees, to such things as individual talks, proper interpersonal relations and a thorough understanding of the interests of newcomers. The squad leaders, who will form everyday habits of their subordinates on a daily basis, were taught about the methodology of teaching regulations and conducting skills.

In the training company, which will be commanded by Capt. Witold Stepien, the duties of commander and instructor were entrusted to the chairman of the unit Union of Polish Socialist Youth. This will make possible a full and direct understanding of the problems of young men during the first period of their military service by a youth organization."

Young soldiers will report at the end of the month to the 5th Kolobrzeg Mechanized Regiment, the Otokar Jarosz Regiment. Capt. Mieczyslaw Wojdynski has this to say about the preparations to receive them:

"In my company, as in the rest of the unit, the preparatory work to be ready to receive the new class of recruits is practically finished. What remains to be done are only minor organizational actions to create suitable "quality of life" conditions for the draftees.

We directed most of our organizational effort towards getting the squad leaders ready. We reminded them about leadership principles and training methodology, especially regarding general military instruction. We sharpened their sensitivity to the need to see and solve human problems during the first period of being assigned to a unit."

The youngest soldiers will come to a tank unit of the 10th Sudetes Armored Division, the Heroes of the Soviet Army Division, at the end of the month, on 29 October to be precise. Maj. Henryk Wawer gave us the following information:

"We still have some time before the draftees come. Nevertheless, we are ready to welcome them now. In accordance with the guidance received from our superiors, we have conducted pedagogical courses for the platoon and squad leaders. Also, our unit youth organization got ready to welcome our young tankers. At one of the meetings, the methods and format of working with our youngest colleagues were discussed. The governing board of the Union of Young Polish Socialists prepared a competition for the best squad leader of the recruit class. The results will be announced at the end of basic training."

Well prepared for their tasks are the recruit company commander, Capt. Janusz Wojcicki, and his deputy for political affairs, social science student at the Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School, sergeant cadet Cezary Zaborski who is assigned to the unit on his training tour.

As in the previous years, we have done everything possible to assure that the reception of young soldiers goes smoothly and that the quality of life conditions help them to endure more easily the strains of the first period of military service.

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CSO: 2600/92

POLAND

CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION, CADRE POLICY DEPARTMENT MEET

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 85 pp 1,2

[Polish Press Agency dispatch: "Realization of the Party's Cadre Policy Goals. Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Auditing Commission of the PUWP"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Auditing Commission of the PZPR met on 16 November. Results of the recent audits conducted by the Central Auditing Commission were discussed and accepted. The meeting was chaired by Kazimierz Morawski.

In September of this year Central Auditing Commission groups, together with the Cadre Policy Department of the CC, conducted an audit of the implementation of the "Main goals of the cadre policy of PZPR," adopted at the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee. The audit reviewed the extent to which the principle of filling high positions with people who have high professional, moral and political qualifications has been put in practice, and whether the proportion nominations for promotion of younger people and representatives of all social groups has increased. The audit focused on the manner of selection, work procedures, the use of cadre reserves, mechanisms for consultation with regard to nominations, the manner of granting and withdrawing party recommendations, and the filling of high positions through competition.

The audit shows that the process of implementation of the "Main goals of the cadre policy of PZPR" has begun successfully. In the majority of the audited cells the functional personnel ["active", cadre] is conscious of the connection between this process and social effectiveness of the party on all levels. This is expressed, for example, in conducting systematic evaluations of professional and political profiles of persons with leading functions, in the struggle against the so-called carousel of positions, and in serious consideration given by party organizations in supporting nominations to high positions.

Along the evaluations noting positive tendencies, flaws and weaknesses in party work in this area were pointed out as well. Among them were such things as insufficient participation of employee councils, as well as youth, union and other organizations, in the selection of reserve cadre at all levels. Counteraction by party organizations is required by the not

infrequent instances of formalistic approach to cadre reviews, resulting solely in excellent or good evaluations, putting in question the very purpose of such reviews. It was concluded that greater consistency is needed in adhering to the principle that reserve cadre constitutes the basic pool of people to be utilized in filling high positions. Heretofore, the degree of utilization of this cadre has been insufficient, notwithstanding clear progress that has been achieved.

The Presidium of the Central Auditing Commission reviewed the results of an audit of the utilization of budget resources earmarked for organizational purposes in the Central Committee and the voivodship committees of the party. It was found that the audited units adhere to budgetary discipline, that expenditures are being properly documented, and their use shows that the principle of rational and economic management of budget resources is being followed.

The Presidium reviewed and approved materials from the audit of the departments of the Central Committee concerning the implementation the resolution by the 18th Plenum of the CC about the tasks of the party in the realization of the Central Annual Plan for 1985. The tasks set by the resolution were either achieved by CC departments, or their realization has reached an advanced stage. In the last third of the month the Central Auditing Commission will conduct an audit of the realization of the resolution by the local party organizations.

The Presidium familiarized itself with the conclusions of a conference with chairmen and directors of the Voivodship Audit Commissions held at the end of September, which made numerous proposals concerning efficiency and effectiveness of functioning of all audit commissions in the party.

Appreciation and thanks were given to all activists of audit commissions for their commitment and devoted activities during election campaign to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

12503/12781  
CSO: 2600/81

POLAND

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS MEET IN OLSZTYN

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Oct 85 p 5

[Polish Press Agency dispatch: "The Meeting of the Convention of Provincial Governors"]

[Text] On 17 October the Convention of Provincial Governors met at the Ministry of Administration and Territorial Economy. It was chaired by the Olsztyn governor, Sergiusz Rubczewski.

Members of the convention presented information concerning elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic in their regions. As their remarks demonstrate, local organs of state administration conscientiously realized their tasks related to the election campaign and voting.

Minister of Education, Prof Boleslaw Faron, informed the governors about principles of functioning of school administration. He emphasized the special role of teachers as persons who shape attitudes of youth.

Minister of Administration and Territorial Economy, lieutenant general Wladzimierz Oliwa, participated in the meeting of the Convention of Provincial Governors.

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CSO: 2600/81

POLAND

AFGHAN VISITORS MEET CZYREK, OTHERS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 85 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Meeting with an Afghan Visitor"]

[Text] On 16 October member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Josef Czyrek, met with a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, chairman of the Afghan Writers' Union, Dastagir Panjsheeri. Information was exchanged about current problems in the work of both parties. Present status of friendly cooperation between PZPR and DPPA was evaluated highly.

D. Panjsheeri described current problems in the Afghan situation, informing about progressive transformations toward strengthening of people's statehood, conducted under the leadership of his party, and about successes in the struggle against counterrevolutionaries.

J. Czyrek informed the Afghan guest about preparations for the 10th Party Congress, activities undertaken by the party to strengthen the socialist state, improvement in the economic situation, and the consolidation of the Polish society. In this context, he pointed out the great significance of recent elections to the Sejm.

The secretary of the CC expressed support for comprehensive efforts of the Afghan party and government aimed at defending and expanding the achievements of the April revolution, and for economic and cultural development of the country.

The following persons participated in the meeting: secretary of the CC of the PZPR Waldemar Swirgon, chief of the culture department of the CC of the PZPR Witold Nawrocki, and ambassador of Afghanistan, Mohammad Farouq Karmand.

Dastagir Panjsheeri also met with members of the Board of Polish-Afghan Friendship Society.

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On 16 October, during a press conference held at the Afghan Embassy in Warsaw, ambassador Mohammad Farouq Karmand spoke about revolutionary transformations in that country. He stressed that elections to local authorities, held, since August, successively in individual provinces, and decisions of the Great Dhirga of border tribes, made last September, to close the borders of the country to infiltrating bands of counterrevolutionaries financed by the US, have special significance for building of socialism in Afghanistan, consolidation of people's power, and defense of revolutionary achievements.

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**POLAND**

**LATEST ISSUE OF "MONITOR POLSKI" SUMMARIZED**

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Oct 85 p 6

[Excerpts] In the 23rd issue of "Monitor Polski" (dated September 24) the following resolutions were published:

By the Council of State:

--changing the resolution about certain rights and duties of the employees of the offices of control of publications and performances;

--about appointing members of the Council for the protection of Work;

By the Council of Ministers:

--concerning contracts between Polish citizens temporarily staying abroad and organizations which send persons to work abroad with foreign employers;

By the Voivodship National Council in Tarnow concerning changing borders of certain communes.

The Monitor also contains orders:

--by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers concerning the duty to render transportation services for the election campaign to the Sejm in 1985;

--two by the Minister of Internal Affairs, concerning the approval and publications of the statutes of public associations: the Society for the Maintenance of Links with Persons of Polish Origin Abroad "Polonia" and the Polish Committee for Social Help;

--by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, concerning functions of consuls in developing and deepening economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and receiving countries;

--by the Minister of Administration and Territorial Economy, concerning the scope, conditions and principles of using equivalent norms for worktime in certain positions;

--by the Minister of Health and Social Welfare, describing in detail the composition and nutritional value of prophylactic and regenerative meals, and the hygienic-sanitary conditions for their distribution;

--by the Minister of Work, Wages and Social Welfare: one concerning the list of deficit blue-collar trades [i.e., where labor shortages exist] in state enterprises; the other regulates procedures and principles of assigning resources of the State Fund for Professional Activization for the activities of enterprise centers of education and information;

--by the Chief Inspector of Energy Industry concerning dates of heating buildings and premises.

12503/12781  
CSO: 2600/81

POLAND

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF ZOLNIERZ POLSKI NOTED

History, Development

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 pp 2, 3

[Excerpts from editorial: "Continuity and Change"]

[Text] All anniversaries, even such a modest one as ours, have one thing in common: they cause us to reflect. The newest issue of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, out in circulation just today, is unusual in this regard: we published it on the 40th anniversary of the date that ZOLNIERZ POLSKI appeared on the still impoverished postwar readership market as the second illustrated weekly (the first being PRZEKROJ). And so this handful of reminiscences that may interest readers and also may be of use to the future historian of the military press.

Both in the past and now, the editorship of the periodical has been a joint effort of people with many specializations. Over the past 40 years, the makeup of the editorial staff has changed a few times over the normal course of events. Even if we take into account the few cases of lengthy service on the staff, for the most part the team that greets the 40th anniversary of ZP [ZOLNIERZ POLSKI] is composed of journalists that have come on board the editorial staff relatively recently. However, this does not hinder us from considering ourselves the full-fledged heirs of the experiences and achievements of all previous teams, their successors and continuers.

I believe that there are clear premises demonstrating both ideological continuity and the growing trend of development of our publication, its consistency in propagating the defense of the PRL and the ties of the people's army and society. In the past and now, our primary motto has been a slogan that is both irrefutable and realistic: the people's armed forces perform the mission of serving the nation. From this fact emanates the solid conviction that the soldier's effort and training work are as necessary and as important to the country's development and its national life as the labor of the worker, the farmer, the engineer and the scholar.

Our weekly always has been a vigilant recorder and active participant of social life, sensitive to all threats to the peaceful existence of the nation. Its guiding idea always has been concern for the safety of the socialist homeland. Keeping this in mind, we always have implemented the party's policy and the

policy of the MON [National Defense Ministry] leadership in the area of the defense of Poland. The supreme reasons of the nation and the state have been our guide.

We wish to continue in this direction of work. Every publication that wishes to preserve its ties with the readers must be an instrument that expresses many viewpoints. Our consumers are primarily young people with varied interests. Hence, the primary duty of the ZP editorial staff is to seek continually for those forms of exerting influence that are in line with these interests. We would like our voice to coincide with the aims and aspirations of the young generation of Poles that is now taking its own fate into its hands to meet the challenges of the near future.

Then let us reminisce...

The history of the weekly began on 18 June 1945, on the day that the organizational order of the Polish Army Supreme Command went out that said:

"In order to instill the idea of the reborn Polish Army into the army ranks, and into youth and paramilitary organizations, I hereby order the creation of a publication entitled ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in the form of an illustrated weekly that will be a base for the publication of illustrated military magazines and an organ of the Ministry of National Defense."

Signed: The Supreme Commander of the WP [Polish Army] Marshal Michal Rola-Zymierski, General of Division Marian Spychalski and General of Arms Wladyslaw Korczyk. Several weeks later, on 24 August 1945, the first issue of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI appeared. That was working fast!

Some people speak ironically today of the times of "romantic improvisation."

Not so. Even today, the startup of a mighty publishing machinery in under a few weeks would be a happening. All the more then, when the country lay in ruins...

The first issue of ZP, like all books published at the times, was printed on the heavy, stiff paper used today for wrapping packages. These publications heralded a massive explosion of reading and education that became the direct result of the social and economic changes of the postwar period.

A hunger for the Polish word printed after 5 years of captivity. I do not know whether our young readers are able to understand this today. The printing volume of 40,000 copies sold like hotcakes; the publication immediately won the hearts of readers.

Let us recall the contents of that historic issue: it opened with an editorial, in good journalistic style. This article stated that "the motto of ZP is authenticity and the highest level of contact with the reader."

We have tried to be faithful to this motto for the entire 40 years. Did the successive editorial staffs succeed in this? That is for the readers to decide. But let us return to the first issue. It contained a lengthy article on assistance given by the army to the civilian population, a

statement made by Edward Osobka-Morawski, the premier, at the seventh session of the KRN [People's Council in Poland] and a photo-essay on the stay in Warsaw of Marshal Zukov, Marshal Rokossovskij and Marshal Konev and their decoration with the Virtuti Militari Cross First Class With a Star. Along with these materials, there was a journalistic article on the Warsaw Uprising, a popular scientific article on the atom bomb and a story written by Pola Gojawiczynska. The first columns appeared on sports and entertainment and there also was a place for a serial story and column entitled "Our Mail," devoted to readers' letters.

It was lively, it was colorful and there was something for everyone.

And that was the way it was supposed to continue. History, but also the contemporary, photo-essays, but also issues-related articles, garrison reports but also reports from around the world. Each issue included items from belles lettres that took in the writings of poets and writers of such measure as Leopold Staff, Wladyslaw Broniewski, Julian Tuwim, Tadeusz Holuj, Ksawery Pruszynski and Wojciech Zukrowski, to only name a few.

In 1953, ZP changed its format, profile and subtitle and altered the frequency of publication on the readers' market. It became a biweekly "literary-artistic magazine of the Polish Army Main Political Directorate."

Changes in content have been more important. We read in the first issue (actually the 373rd issue): "Out of the love proffered by the nation to the people's army, literary works devoted to the military are growing more and more abundant. They are being created by literary men and by gifted young soldiers. They will fill the columns of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI with prose, verse and song."

This new literature, announced in advance, was published in the first issue of the new ZP. It included a story by Jan Swidzinski, "Mist Over the Odra," a fragment of a novel by Bogdan Hamera, "In the Tracks of Tanks" and poetry written by Stanislaw Ryszard Dobrowolski, Konstanty Ildefons Galczynski, Henryk Gaworski and many, many other poets, some recognized but some just starting out. ZOLNIERZ POLSKI kept its promise to readers. Through the 4 years of its assumption of a literary format, the publication opened its columns to all those that wished to try their hand at poetry and prove devoted to the military. One should not indulge in self-adulation, but thanks to ZP, many authors saw their works in print for the first time. Our publication was the first to publish Waclaw Bilinski, Jerzy Korczak and Waldemar Kotowicz--recognized authors today.

ZP maintained its literary format until 1957, when it returned to the format tested in the first stage of publication of the periodical, namely the magazine. However, it retained the subtitle "literary-social military publication."

These changes turned out to be a good thing. Above all, they brought the editors into more frequent contact with the reader. Moreover, they enabled a deeper look into the military than was formerly possible. A representative of the most noble variety of journalism--his majesty, the news report--arrived on the

scene. ZP journalists penetrate diligently the various branches of the service, photo-reporters are transported into the skies, into the waters and under the sea, and all this yields excellent results in the columns of the weekly. The first thematic cycles already have been published: "The Bill for Our Victory," "From the Secrets of World War II" and "The Most Interesting Photos From World War II."

Nor is there any shortage of familiar names in the publication. Despite format changes, Melchior Wankowicz and Wojciech Zukrowski continue to write for the readers of ZP. And we are especially proud to have our own first foreign correspondents: Stanislaw Dymek from India and Jan Gerhard from France. There are competitions of various types that cover subject matter of both historical and contemporary interest. For example, there is an ongoing competition over a contemporary military anecdote.

Each year the magazine becomes richer and richer. Its format and content have been changed several other times, but this time the content of the publication has not been affected. Meanwhile, new series of issues have appeared that include: "Ancient Weaponry in the Polish Museum," "The Flags Do Not Pass Away Into the Hush of the Museum," "Polish Military Engineers" and many others. However, the crowning achievement of our campaign is the annual undertaking "As Efficient As Soldiers" that is organized with great vigor. To this day, thousands of our young readers take part in this venture.

Once again we must reiterate that, although one should not praise oneself, these "editorial reminiscences" would be incomplete if we did not note here the fact that the work of the editors has been given high praise by the military authorities: on 4 November 1980, the head of the Polish Army Main Political Directorate awarded the representatives of the editorial staff the Order of the Banner of Labor Second Class.

And so history has brought us to today's jubilee of a publication that has served its readers faithfully for 40 years. What of the present day? In 1982, ZP had a circulation of 120,000. A year later, it rose to 200,000 and in time it exceeded 250,000. This is success on the part of the editorial staff, but it is primarily success on the part of the readership that considers ZP to be its publication published for it. Our most faithful readers know that no letter and no telephone call to the editors is ignored. We are here for you. When we announced another readership poll in December 1984, the hundreds of surveys completed diligently by you included many words of recognition for the work done by the editorial staff. But there also were many remarks and proposals. None of these will be ignored; we shall discuss proposed subject matter for new items in our editorial teams.

We wish to publish our magazine together, in conjunction with the readers, just as we have published it for the past 40 years. Dear ones, nothing about you without you.

International Symposium

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24, 25 Aug 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] (Own Information) The first issue of the illustrated weekly ZOLNIERZ POLSKI appeared 40 years ago, on 24 August 1945. On the occasion of this anniversary, chief of the WP [Polish Army] Main Political Directorate, deputy minister of national defense, General of Arms Dr Jozef Baryla met with the editorial staff of this publication that is popular in the military and civilian communities alike.

Since its inception, ZOLNIERZ POLSKI has been a weekly that has taken a lively part in propagating party and governmental policy. It has disseminated at a high ideopolitical level the issues of national defense and of the life and training of the military. It has showcased officers' achievements and the progress made in education, science, technology and culture. It is the faithful companion of the soldier in his work and in his service in the People's Polish Army. The publication has made special strides in its educational impact on youth, exhibiting many valuable initiatives and much ingenuity in its journalism. A significant achievement of the weekly is represented by the interesting series of articles devoted to the traditions and the history of Polish weaponry, the struggle for national liberation and contemporary military life. The continually growing circulation that exceeded 250,000 copies in June 1985 attests to the popularity of the periodical.

These obvious achievements were noted by Gen of Arms Dr Jozef Baryla, chief of the WP Main Political Directorate, who called to mind the history of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI and pointed out the positive changes made in the weekly, the inseparable companion of the soldier in his service, during the past 40 years. He also stressed the educative role of the magazine that impacts primarily the youth community.

The chief of the WP GZP expressed his wishes for continued success to the editorial staff of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, for continued close contact with readers and for success in the personal lives of the staff.

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An important element of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI was a symposium of the editors-in-chief of the illustrated periodicals of Warsaw Pact armies on the topic, "The Role and the Tasks of Illustrated Publications in Patriotic-Defense and Internationalist Education." The deliberations were run by Colonel Symforian Chwilkowski, deputy chief of the WP GZP Propaganda and Agitation Board and chief of the Press and Information Section.

During the course of the lively discussion, the editors-in-chief of the following publications described many journalistic initiatives and experiences within the realm of molding awareness and the patriotic and internationalistic attitudes of youth: BULGARSKIJ WOJN (Colonel Vasyl Chankov), IGAZ SZO (Lieutenant Colonel Istvan Barkovits), ARMEE RUNDSCHAU (Colonel Karl-Heinz Freitag),

VIATA MILITARA (Lieutenant Colonel Jon Jianu), SOVETSKIJ VOJN (Colonel Jurij Vinogradov), CESKOSLOVENSKI VOJAK (Colonel Jirzi Prazak) and ZOLNIERZ POLSKI (Colonel Leszek Cichocki). Everyone that took part in the discussion agreed that the results of the symposium will be used to improve the illustrated publications of the brother armies of the Warsaw Pact.

First Deputy Chief of the WP Main Political Directorate General of Division Dr Tadeusz Szacilo met with the editors-in-chief of the fellow publications. He informed guests about the current tasks performed by the armed forces party-political apparatus, including the military means of the mass media, based on the general status quo of the nation.

The editors-in-chief of the illustrated publications of the Warsaw Pact armies were welcomed warmly by the Kosciuszkovites, the soldiers of the Captain Wladyslaw Wysocki First Prague Mechanized Regiment, in Wesola, where they were making a visit of friendship. In the regiment's traditions hall, they heard about the history of the oldest unit of the People's Polish Army, the combat trail taken by the Kosciuszkovites from Lenino to Berlin and the contemporary training-educational achievements and current tasks being implemented in the First PPZ [Prague Mechanized Regiment].

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The visit of the editors-in-chief of the illustrated publications of the Warsaw Pact armies was the first working visit of this nature organized under the inspiration of the WP Main Political Directorate and the editorial staff of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI.

Colonel Jurij Vinogradov spoke with approval of this, stressing that the meeting of the journalists from the fellow publications enabled the exchange of ideological-educational experiences in editing publications for the young reader. Col Istvan Barkovits also spoke of the role played by the meeting in unifying views of the function and military tasks of illustrated magazines. He expressed the hope that the proposals set forth during the discussions would be analyzed thoroughly and utilized in journalistic practice.

#### Interview With Editor-in-Chief

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24,25 Aug 85 p 4

[Interview with Colonel Leszek Cichocki, editor-in-chief of the illustrated magazine ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, by Janusz B. Grochowski; date and location of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] In an editorial published on 24 August 1945 in the first issue of your magazine, there were the following words: "The motto of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI is authenticity and the highest level of contact with the reader."

[Answer] Col L. Cichocki: That was not idle talk. By maintaining the format of the magazine, whose primary subject matter is the patriotic-defense

education of youth and the broadly understood issues of national defense, we are trying to maintain the closest possible ties with the readers, to hit upon their likes and interests. Thus, our department of letters and communication with the readers is the largest one of our editorial staff, being made up of five persons. We organize many meetings and campaigns in the field, and every now and again the "Green Telephone" is at work.

[Question] Another statement written 40 years ago was the following: "We request the regular submission of garrison notes, articles and photographs."

[Answer] Nor have the readers failed us in this regard. Thirty-five thousand responses to a competition we announced is nothing new. Moreover, each week we receive 600 to 700 letters in the mail.

[Question] That is a large number. Let us unveil the secret of correspondence a little. On what subjects do you receive letters from readers?

[Answer] We get letters primarily about the things that trouble them. Often they request legal and medical advice and the like. Sometimes they just want to complain.

[Question] That shows that they trust you.

[Answer] In addition to this, readers offer suggestions for articles.

[Question] Do you make use of these suggestions?

[Answer] Of course we do. The letters are the raw material of our work. Just last year, as a result of a request made by readers from the Coast, we published a series presenting the types of ships used in the navy. Requests made by young people from Wroclaw, Lodz, Jelenia Gora and Krakow have led to the publication of a series of reports and photo-essays from the higher officers' schools. Then hobbyists have led us to create several new columns.

[Question] There are really a lot of these.

[Answer] In 24 pages, we have over 30 regular items. And there are requests that we begin several others. Readers accuse us of not having found place for materials devoted to the history of technology or the greatest battles, of not having a chess corner and of not having exciting stories, full-color spreads illustrating army uniforms throughout the world, horoscopes and lessons in sex between partners.

[Question] Are these the only complaints you receive?

[Answer] Oh no. It must be said that we have very perceptive readers--which is not unusual of 12-year-olds and 18-year-olds--that catch our slips immediately. If an illustrator makes one wrong stroke, we receive a barrage of letters. Often we also must look to the authority of scholars from WIH [Military Institute of History] or the Polish Army Museum for explanations of some historical detail. Thus, our work involves stiff verification.

[Question] But are your results essentially favorable?

[Answer] Each year we publish a poll in our magazine asking for evaluations (anonymous of course) of the publication. Last year 57 percent of those surveyed felt that we do a good job of presenting subject matter of interest to today's young people. Fourteen percent thought that we do a poor job of this. We also asked them why they read ZOLNIERZ POLSKI. Sixty-two percent replied that it contains their favorite topics, while 45 percent said that they like our articles or that they read it because of a particular hobby-related column.

[Question] Which of the regular items enjoy the greatest success among readers?

[Answer] Richly illustrated current reports on military training are the most popular. For many years now, material on events from the World War II years appearing under the common headpiece "Front Without Secrets" has provoked much interest. The column "No Smokescreen" and the lonely hearts column also have been popular.

[Question] Some people treat ZOLNIERZ POLSKI as a handbook.

[Answer] They rather treat it as a supplemental source of information useful for better mastery of training material. This is the case with our "Lesson From Defense Training" and the column "With ZOLNIERZ POLSKI As a Guide." The series of articles for young soccer players emanating from our cooperation with television also is of this nature.

[Question] Then you deal not only in journalism but also in social and organizational work.

[Answer] In a sense we really do. We also have a number of various types of campaigns to our credit, our peak achievement being the annual all-Poland intermural school competition "As Efficient As Soldiers." This year nearly 700,000 young people of various ages took part in this multilevel contest that encompasses test of knowledge on the people's army as well as physical competition. We wish to continue to expand this campaign.

[Question] ...? [as published]

[Answer] Yesterday a 3-day symposium of the editors-in-chief of the illustrated publications of the armies of the Warsaw Pact states, a major element of our anniversary celebration, came to a close. At this forum we proposed the organization of similar competitions with an international scope.

[Question] In recent years ZOLNIERZ POLSKI has managed to increase its circulation considerably.

[Answer] We have doubled it. In January 1983, our circulation was 122,000 copies. In June of this year it was 265,000 copies. This was so despite a price increase for news publications.

[Question] Wherein lies the secret of such success?

[Answer] Success? That may be an overstatement. But in my opinion, there must be the desire and the effort to bring together a group of people that also have the desire.

[Question] Since its inception, the magazine has had the good fortune of attracting good writers. Such significant authors as Melchior Wankowicz, Stanislaw Ryszard Dobrowolski, Janusz Meissner, Michal Rusinek, Wojciech Zukrowski, Wladyslaw Broniewski, Leopold Staff, Julian Tuwim, Janina Broniewska, Tadeusz Holuj, Wladyslaw Machejek, Ksawery Pruszynski and many, many others have written for ZOLNIERZ POLSKI.

[Answer] That is so. We have cooperated with many universally known and respected writers and journalists through the present day, such as Jan Dobraczynski, Wojciech Zukrowski and Szymon Kobylniski, to name a few. A large group of capable young people, not all of them military types, has gathered around ZOLNIERZ POLSKI.

[Question] A large group of fellow workers--is this a way of helping out a skeleton editorial staff?

[Answer] It is quite small. However, since we are in a period of reform, we do not think it advisable to expand the full-time staff. We prefer to expand the circle of our fellow workers, our network of correspondents. We believe that this is the best way to reach readers directly and to implement our plans that extend beyond journalism.

[Question] We extend our sincere wishes to the entire staff of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI for success in the implementation of all their plans.

[Answer] Thank you!

[Question] And what are they?

[Answer] To increase content, to print the magazine on better-quality paper and to reach the reader still better.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

#### Second Interview With Editor-in-Chief

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 8, Aug 85 pp 87-88

[Interview with Colonel Leszek Cichocki, editor-in-chief of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, on the occasion of the magazine's 40th anniversary, by A. Glowczyk; date and location of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] Your magazine is probably one of Poland's best?

[Answer] Editors, did you come here to make jokes? I always thought that WOJSKO LUDOWE was a serious venture.

[Question] It is no joke, but merely a quote from a discussion of a readers' survey made by you last year. For the sake of precision let me add that there is a sequel to this. The author of this statement writes that we would like to extend our sincere thanks for the column on warships from 1918-1945.

[Answer] Naturally, we try to attract readers, especially young males, with topics that are of interest to them. Thus the nearly 30 regular columns edited by specialists that may be of interest primarily to preilitary persons, recruits and soldiers, but also to all other readers, people that are curious about the world and are interested in military science and history, hobbyists and the like. We write about ships and aircraft, about old and somewhat more modern weaponry and about the armaments of Western states and the Warsaw Pact. We bring home to readers various historical events in popular form. We try to popularize sports, tourism and sightseeing.

[Question] You also popularize physical culture and karate, not to mention kung fu.

[Answer] We spread knowledge of whatever interests young people, especially teenagers.

[Question] For what purpose do they use these lessons?

[Answer] No doubt you mean to say that they use it to settle quarrels with other teenagers or even adults whose looks or some such thing they do not like. That is not necessarily the case. Since we have just been talking about our survey, the readers' poll, I too have a particular statement I should like to quote: "I have your magazine to thank for the health and good fortune of a young lady that was accosted by a drunk at night. He wanted money from her. Thanks to karate lessons I was able to rescue her."

[Question] The drunk was not a reader of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI. Is he still alive?

[Answer] I doubt it. Anyway, we are not looking for that kind of reader.

[Question] What kind of reader do you seek?

[Answer] The poll shows that we are read primarily by young people up to age 15 and from 15 to 18. However, nearly 30 percent of our readers are older than this. These are soldiers, reservists, combatants and people interested in the military and defense issues. Let me say that this pleases us.

[Question] Your earnings from this venture must be considerable. There even are rumors that you support several other military publications.

[Answer] I am not interested in the profitability of other publications, even the monthly WOJSKO LUDOWE, but our earnings really are respectable. Our circulation has grown from 122,000 in 1983 to more than 250,000 at present. We experience so-called technical turns.

In spite of the fact that we are a publication that makes money, like all news publications we were forced to raise the price of the weekly. It rose

from 15 to 20 zlotys. Some were afraid that the demand would drop, but it did not.

[Question] "The PO [defense training] lady has us read it." This was written by a 15-year-old female student in the poll.

[Answer] That may be an accusation, but such a statement also may be taken as a compliment.

[Question] ZOLNIERZ POLSKI has too much: "stupid propaganda, politics, lies, filler on the contemporary WP [Polish Army] and too much padding in the text and the illustrations. [It has too much on] World War II, over long ago, and too much babbling on how wonderful it is in the army."

[Answer] I hope that that is not your opinion, but merely that of some readers. I too can answer in the language of the survey "ZOLNIERZ POLSKI Readers on Their Magazine." The poll showed a high level of acceptance of the segments on karate, sports, physical culture, the column "The Two of Them," military technology and the columns for collectors. The magazine format of the publication and the language and form of articles likewise received a good evaluation. The sensational, attractive and complex form of presentation of World War II, the colored photos and the silhouettes of planes, ships and the like received very high marks. The entertainment value and training-coaching nature of certain series, e.g., "With ZOLNIERZ [POLSKI] As a Guide" and "With ZP [ZOLNIERZ POLSKI] at PO Lessons" received high grades.

[Question] And what about "all that padding--be done with it" or "there is too little, there should be more [material], more interesting [material] more contemporary [material]."

[Answer] The former probably refers to politics or propaganda and the latter to technology.

[Question] Does the editorial staff ignore these opinions?

[Answer] To be sure! We certainly do not. We shall strive continually to present ideology, politics and questions of world view in a more interesting manner. With regard to technology, however, I understand that readers would like to be informed about its most recent advances. It is not always possible to present them when military technology is concerned. It is secret information.

[Question] Comrade Colonel, your assessment of the editorial staff is not a secret, is it?

[Answer] With regard to a certain editorial staff on which you were my subordinate...

[Question] I remember, Comrade Colonel!

[Answer] ... I once had to lock a certain reporter in the office to write a rush article. That is not necessary here.

[Question] Understood. Everyone is diligent and punctual, not to mention capable. On the occasion of an anniversary, however, one usually mentions so-called veterans.

[Answer] Although no one would suspect it, one of the longest-serving members of the editorial staff is Ms Barbara Kacprzyk, manager of the editor-in-chief's secretariat, a so-called walking encyclopedia who knows everything that is going on or has gone on in the firm. Likewise, Editor Stanislaw Dymek has served on the staff for 30 years. He is the major figure behind our monthly supplement NIKE, which has been an independent sociocultural monthly for 2 years. Of the military personnel, the person with the most years of service is Colonel Gabriel Trojanowski, manager of the department for contact with readers and major organizer of our many editorial campaigns, such as the traditional "As Efficient As Soldiers" and this year's "Soccer for the Millions," initiated by the TVP [Polish Television] agricultural editorial staff.

It also should be noted that our editorial staff publishes a so-called desert edition of ZP that is intended for the Polish Special Unit and other contingents of the UN Armed Forces in the Near East.

[Question] To summarize briefly our interview, the magazine, while clearly seeking the most attractive forms of communication, deals with issues...

[Answer] ...of the patriotic upbringing of Poles, with the popularization of issues of national defense and with the historical education of the young generation.

[Question] Thank you for the interview. I wish you continued success in the next 40 years. Somehow, however, our so-called "point" did not come off.

[Answer] Then let us turn again to the readers' statements. In answer to the question, "Are you indebted to our magazine for anything?," someone replied, "The word 'homeland' has begun to have more meaning."

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

JAIL SENTENCES FOR AGRICULTURAL VIOLATIONS--The strict application of the norms established by law for the execution of basic agricultural work dealing with grains and industrial crops ensures increased production and labor productivity in agriculture. Seriously violating these legal provisions and proceeding in total contradiction with the obligations of all agricultural workers to harvest crops on time and to handle them with the greatest care, Engineer Aurel Popa, technical director of the Ciocanesti State Agricultural Enterprise, Calarasi County, and agricultural technicians Gheorghe Stan, head of the Varasti Farm No 2, in the same unit, burned the vegetable waste remaining from the harvest on 56 hectares sown with corn, on which there were still 33 tons of corn cobs. In light of the fact that Aurel Popa and Gheorghe Stan committed the infraction of destruction with especially serious consequences to public property, in accordance with the provisions of the Penal Code, each of the two defendants was sentenced by the Calarasi County Tribunal to 10 years in prison. [Text] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Nov 85 p 5] /8309

CSO: 2700/32

YUGOSLAVIA

#### LCB-H REORGANIZATION, ELECTIONS DISCUSSED AT MOSTAR MEETING

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by A. Behram: "Against 'Intrigues' in a Timely Manner. Discussion of Organization, Criteria, and Method of Electing LCB-H Authorities"]

[Text] Mostar, 21 Oct--At today's session, the expanded membership of the opstina committee of the League of Communists of Mostar discussed the organization, the criteria, and the method of elections in the organs of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina and, in the light of this, the positions taken by the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina. Branko Mikulic, member of the SFRY Presidency and member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, also participated in the proceedings of the committee session.

#### A Vote for a Smaller Central Committee

During the debate, which was inspired by material from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina, support was given to the positions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina because, viewed as a whole, both alternatives for organizing the Central Committee ensure more effective ideological and political activities as well as unity of action, not only of the organs of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina, but indirectly also of the basic organizations of the League of Communists. During the proceedings of the Opstina Committee of the League of Communists, after a comprehensive review of the suggested solutions for organizing the League of Communists and a discussion in which Djordjo Andric, Ekrem Curic, Drago Martinovic, Momo Pajalic, Nada Novak, Sefkija Dzihio and others participated, however, the view prevailed that the first version of the future organization of the League of Communists of the republic was more acceptable. As Ekrem Curic emphasized in his introductory remarks, this version would provide for considerably fewer members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina than there are now; it would number 65 members, which would ensure that it would be more action-oriented and capable of acting more effectively in implementing established policies and positions. Such a method of organization would also make it possible for the Central Committee to perform some of the duties that are now within the purview of the Presidium as an executive-political organ. According to this version, the Central Committee would elect an executive

committee or secretariat as an executive-political body of up to 11 members. Along with such an organization of the Central Committee, it would be stipulated by statute as mandatory for the Conference of League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina to meet once a year in order to discuss current ideological and political issues and assume positions regarding ideological and political actions. The conference would thus contribute to enhancing the work methods of the League of Communists, strengthen the sense of responsibility of the League of Communists' bodies, and contribute to a greater influence by the Party grass roots on the work of the League of Communists bodies.

Taking part in the debate, Branko Mikulic said that we had entered a discussion on preparations for the elections, which in itself was a very responsible task because it was necessary to prepare balance sheets on what we did in the past period and how we did it so that we could on that basis evaluate everybody and also, on the basis of these evaluations and analyses, gain an overview of the current socio-economic situation and conditions in our midst and create programs that would open up prospects; then, to select candidates whose overall characteristics are such that they will be able to respond to the challenge of the moment and the times. Mikulic voiced a concern that the upcoming debates on the candidates, namely who would go where and whether somebody would be elected or not, could cause some of the cadres to become passive, instead of having the elections conducted through a normal democratic process. Mikulic especially advocated that, as a rule, cadres should return to the milieux from which they were elected after the terms of office of their current jobs in the socio-political organizations and assemblies of delegates have expired.

#### The Leadership--A Combination of Generations

In discussing possible personnel combinations, "intrigues," and attempts to use the elections to achieve certain personal ambitions which, as a rule, do not overlook election activities, Mikulic emphasized that the League of Communists should assume the responsibility for really developing, within the Socialist Alliance of Working People, activities aimed at curbing such phenomena on time. Stressing that we had no serious consequences because of such phenomena even during past elections, Mikulic emphasized that in spite of everything, this left "scars on the conditions in certain milieux and on situations that exist among people."

In any case, elections are a serious, democratic act, but not an omnipotent act, said Mikulic, and he added that we could place our trust in the best of the best; the elections will have a successful outcome, however, if we are successful in encouraging a comprehensive action in all milieux and at all levels, in strengthening unity of thought and action regarding programs that will pull things forward. It is certainly very important that, in election activities, we make sure that we elect to the delegations people who are at the level that is required by the times, and who are able and know how to resolve the problems that have accumulated; but only if we ourselves, in all the milieux, make joint efforts to more quickly overcome the difficulties associated with development. It is necessary to implement a fundamental democratization of the entire electoral process, stressed Branko Mikulic, and he added that the basic organizations of the League of Communists should propose

several candidates but that it would not be good for the basic organizations of the League of Communists to discuss only the candidates from their milieux; they should also discuss those from other basic organizations of bodies of the League of Communists as a whole.

Mikulic expressed the opinion that, when League of Communists leaders, delegation and delegate assemblies propose possible candidates, they should ensure "the felicitous, suitable combination of all generations," taking into account national as well as age and gender considerations; so that we can elect candidates who will be able to meet the obligations imposed by the future Mikulic stressed.

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CSO: 2800/33

YUGOSLAVIA

MARKOVIC ON ELECTIONS, 1-YEAR TERM OF OFFICE

AU202100 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 85 p 6

[P.H. Report]

[Excerpts] In the latest issue of KOMUNIST, Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee presidium, writes about LC tasks in the forthcoming elections. Markovic, in fact, refers to debates held after his speech at the session of the Central Committee presidium of the LC of Serbia held in July this year.

Noting that debate up to this time has presented many new arguments and thereby "has contributed to clearing up the problem from different sides," Markovic, as he did in his first speech, devotes his main attention to the LC in the forthcoming elections of sociopolitical communities and organizations, and not to elections in the LC.

He says that he does not call into question the principle of several candidates in the processes of nomination and election: "I am still of the opinion that we cannot reduce the whole problem to the question of one or several candidates at elections. I only think that in the existing election system, in the conditions of the delegate system and in some cases, it is a basic thing to have several candidates during the nomination process because until one changes the election system to the extent that it is possible to be done, several candidates on long lists could mean only a formality. I have stressed in particular the responsibility of the LC for the democratization of the entire election system, of all its stages."

"I think and I have pointed it out many times, that the shortcomings of our election system are easily ignored. One can ignore these questions, but it has to be clear to us then that the proclaimed principle--the way it has been understood by a number of participants in the debate--cannot be implemented, cannot be realized," Markovic says, noting, among other things, that it is difficult today to ensure that "voters elect" representatives to the highest federal organs, for instance.

This time also, he stresses that unity of the LC may suffer negative consequences if the LC enters the election activity unprepared, if it only remains as the general attitude that one should chose among several candidates: "that such consequences are possible one can see from the experience of the 1967 elections."

What Markovic insists upon is that "the LC must be guarantor of the democratization of elections." It must be completely included in them not by dictating candidates' lists at any level, but by preserving and developing the principled nature of the debate and of the nomination procedure, by working together with all working people on sharpening criteria, something that will develop an awareness about important tasks society is facing and about the essential significance of moral, political, and other human qualities which people holding offices should have: "We should also be aware of the danger of some unprincipled rivalry and bickering within the LC itself and seek ways to dispel and remove them. In brief--it is not sufficient to say there has to be more candidates and not one."

"I have an impression that the situation from 1980 and 1981 which appeared in connection with the debates on collective leadership and on the introduction of the 1-year term of office is repeating itself. At that time a situation was created through a campaign in which one could hardly hold constructive discussions and make realistic assessments, and therefore the entire problem of collective work and leadership has been reduced to introducing the 1-year term of office. One has to prevent such situations from being repeated. That campaign, as is well known, used to lead to absurd solutions. The climate created by great slogans and quotations favored unreasonable extremes. Therefore, the 1-year term of office was introduced everywhere, even in associations of citizens, various cultural, humanitarian, professional, and other social organizations...."

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CSO: 2800/86

YUGOSLAVIA

**BORBA ON COMMUNISTS ACCEPTING 'ANOTHER BANNER'**

AU181333 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 85 p 2

[Radmila Dubljevic commentary: "To Quicken the Pace"]

[Excerpts] Chroniclers of these turbulent years can with clear conscience write down that undesirable trends have gained much space in this territory of ours during the eighties, and that "returning the river back into its bed" will require much more effort than the one that has so far been invested into the protection of the socialist revolution.

**Diminished Consciousness**

For, there are more and more people who would want, as one of our writers has put it, to fill up the Yugoslav territory with the mud of separatism, nationalism, factionalism, and autonomism [autonomastvo]. Extreme rightists often merge with extreme leftists. The aim is dark, maybe common to the two?

The attempts to federalize the party are present on the scene every day. Can something that we call the vanguard of Yugoslav society be partitioned? Are we a mere step away from a situation where national-communists will have the main say?

We are reading texts about Draza Mihailovic promoted to "Hero Obilic" [refers to Milos Obilic, hero of Serbian folk poetry], and about the Sarajevo assassination [in 1914] being the first, and 27 March [1941 coup that provoked Hitler to attack Yugoslavia] as the second suicide of Serbia.

It seems to some of our peoples that, being so small, they have to protect themselves all the time, although nobody is attacking them. Who is in fact endangering whom, if we all feel endangered?

Politically diminished consciousness confirms itself every day. It seems to many people, in fact, that things have for a long time been confused between leftists and rightists. The future is not bright for the most illustrious ideas, because some of the most famous leftist personalities of this century crossed over to the other side of the barricade. Having Bukharin and Trotsky is not sufficient. One could even pull Yves Montand out of a hat.

There are some people who forget that the extremes of the rightists had led to the specter of nationalism, that they had borne racism and fascism, created Auschwitz and Jasenovac [Ustasha concentration camp]. To the one-time dilemma as to whether it is possible to write poetry after Auschwitz, they ask whether leftists are possible after gulags, after Stalinism, after the terrorism of the "Cultural Revolution."

It seems, however, that one of our theoreticians was very right when he said that left and right obviously are not the same today as they were yesterday. Today, when socialism has spread to many parts of the world, it is possible to express this relation as it is in reality rather than in ideological abstractions.

In our circumstances, the measure of deciding for one or the other can be nothing other than an attitude toward Yugoslav socialism as it is here and now. I therefore, what would be right in our circumstances? Definitely the following: the myth of the nation and national self-sufficiency, the whole of our Serbianism [Srbovanje], Croatianism [hrvatstvovanje], Slovenianism [Slovenstvovanje], support to Albanian irredentism, clericalism... [passage omitted]

And what would be left?

It has been long known that the left represents the idea of socialism with a human face, of true self-management by which people and nations are connected and not divided. Left is also the original and lasting connection--without any idolatry or cult--with the values of the national liberation struggle, with brotherhood and unity, and with Yugoslavism that does not diminish anyone's rights, national or other. [passage omitted]

If the situation on the ideological plane has not been improving, as can be noticed, it means that despite verbal advocacy, we lack that real, specific courage and readiness to stand in front of one's own revolution and defend that which would represent that which is left in our circumstances.

One should, however, see whether this step forward is possible at any time and whether there is something in the party itself, maybe, that is inhibiting it. For, we can see again these days, that there are "communists" who are able to accept another banner for a little of wrong "glory" and a little more money. We see that there are communists whose opportunism has been paralyzing the party for too long, betraying the resolution in a more fatal way than anything else would. Finally, there are such communists who replied to any critical thoughts of party membership (and citizens) with their nervous, defensive [odbranaski] dogmatism from which only they, and not revolution, could benefit. [passage omitted]

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CSO: 2400/86

YUGOSLAVIA

PLANINC, DASCALESCU TOASTS AT BUCHAREST DINNER

LD050956 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2022 GMT  
4 Nov 85

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Nov (TANJUG)--Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu hosted a formal dinner this evening in the Victoria Palace in Bucharest in honor of Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, who is on a 3-day official, friendly visit to Romania. The dinner was attended by members of the two countries' delegations and by Romanian party and state officials.

Federal Executive Council President Milka Planinc and Romanian Prime Minister Dascalescu exchanged toasts during the dinner.

Prime Minister Dascalescu stressed that the visit by the president of the Federal Executive Council reflects the two countries' joint desire to develop and continuously intensify fruitful, good-neighborly cooperation. Over the years, he said, Romania and Yugoslavia have developed, on the foundations laid by Presidents Ceausescu and Tito, a lasting system of friendly relations, based on the full recognition of the principles of independence and national sovereignty, equality, mutual advantage, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. Prime Minister Dascalescu added that in bilateral relations economic and scientific-technical cooperation hold a special place. I wish to stress, he said, that although significant results have been achieved in this sphere the present level of cooperation does not reflect the two countries' economic potentials.

Prime Minister Dascalescu stressed Romania's desire for relations between the two countries to be promoted as an example of cooperation between two socialist, neighborly and friendly countries.

Referring to the situation in the world the Romanian prime minister, citing President Ceausescu, said that "the modern world is like a rough sea," adding that there is strong economic, political and military tension on our planet at present.

In our view, Dascalescu said, the main issue facing the present-day world is to put an end to the arms race, the nuclear weapons race in particular, and to stop mankind from sliding dangerously toward a world conflict which could lead to a nuclear catastrophe. He stressed that Romania welcomes the Soviet Union's initiatives and measures aimed at unilateral reduction in nuclear weapons and at preventing the militarization of space, and that it also supports the initiative to convene an international conference on using space for peaceful purposes.

In our opinion the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit within the framework of the Geneva negotiations should be conducive to the conclusion of an agreement on ending the arms race, halting the production of and experiments with nuclear weapons, and preventing the militarization of space, Prime Minister Dascalescu said. He said that people of the world cannot remain passive while waiting for the outcome of these negotiations but have to take active steps in this direction.

Romania advocates the development of comprehensive cooperation among all Balkan countries, and the creation of a nuclear-free peace zone in the Balkans without foreign military bases, the Romanian prime minister said, adding that his country is making efforts to implement President Ceausescu's proposal for a summit meeting of the Balkan countries.

Dascalescu continued his toast by referring to the economic difficulties affecting the developing countries, and emphasized Romania's view on the need to tackle globally the problem of underdevelopment, including the underdeveloped countries' foreign debts. In this context he also stressed that Romania has proposed a summit conference of the developing countries that would discuss the introduction of a new international economic system.

In reply to the host's toast, Federal Executive Council President Milka Planinc, said friendly and good-neighborly relations between the two countries have a long history, and that certain specific features of the interests and positions of the two countries have failed to be an obstacle to their successful development. Our relations and cooperation are based on the firm foundations of the respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, mutual respect, noninterference in the internal affairs and of mutual advantage. By developing them comprehensively we are making our specific contribution to peace, security cooperation and development not only in the Balkans but also in Europe and the world as well.

On this occasion I wish to stress our interest in the development of as wide and as comprehensive as possible bilateral and multilateral cooperation among all Balkan countries. We not only support but are also making active efforts to implement the idea of turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and security. Stability and peace in our peninsula are an invaluable factor of peace, security and stability both in Europe and in the world.

It is with pleasure that I stress the invaluable contribution made by Presidents Josip Broz Tito and Nicolae Ceausescu to our friendship and successful cooperation, both in bilateral relations and international issues.

Milka Planinc stressed that the results achieved in bilateral cooperation are of lasting value, and that this cooperation can be further promoted in all spheres.

We also attach importance to the comprehensive development of the Serbian and Croatian nationalities in Romania and that of the Romanian nationality in Yugoslavia, which as a common historical achievement, is an important factor in our efforts to intensify cooperation and strengthen good-neighborlihess and which is a lasting integral part of our relations and mutual understanding, Milka Planinc said.

We are witnessing today a difficult world situation whose burdens and dangers affect all of us. Superpowers rivalry continues, as does the arms race, while the lack of progress in solving the troublespots in the world is threatening peace and security, thus continually increasing our concern. No less concern is caused by the very acute problem, a real time bomb, of the developing countries' accumulated debts and the developed world's unwillingness to tackle this major problem, which poses a threat to all of us. Still, despite the difficult conditions, the forces of dialogue, tolerance, understanding and cooperation, the forces fighting for the world's more secure and better future are gaining ground worldwide. We also hope that the resumed dialogue between the great powers will lead to global detente. However, Milka Planinc stressed all the other countries must take an active part in the efforts to achieve universal de.ente.

A very significant contribution to the efforts to overcome the difficult situation in international relations has been made by the movement of nonaligned countries, an independent, nonbloc and global factor which is consistent in its insistence on abandoning the path of exclusive and escalating confrontation for the path of dialogue and the respect for the interdependence of the interests of peace, security and the development of all countries. This was reiterated in a unique way at the recent ministerial conference of the nonaligned countries in Luanda. On that occasion the nonaligned countries also focused their attention on unequal international relations, the search for solutions to the problems of debts, finances, trade and development.

Yugoslavia, as an independent, socialist and European country, is making constant effort' to make as great a contribution as possible to the universal efforts aimed at securing mankind's better future. I wish to stress that we are paying great attention to and appreciate the efforts made by the socialist republic of Romania and its president, Nicolae Ceausescu, in the struggle for peace, security and development in the world.

Concluding her toast, Milka Planinc expressed her belief that this visit, like all the other numerous meetings before, will make a significant contribution to the further strengthening of close links and fruitful cooperation between Yugoslavia and Romania.

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CSO: 2800/86

YUGOSLAVIA

NARODNA ARMIJA ON ATTACKS AT REVOLUTION'S FOUNDATIONS

AU271243 [Editorial Report] Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No. 2417 on 7 November on all of page 5 carries a 1,700-word commentary by Milos I. Bandic entitled "The National Liberation Struggle and Contemporary Times: Attack on the Most Humane Foundations of the Revolution."

At the beginning of his commentary, Bandic characterizes today's "position of the literary and cultural achievements and tradition from the times of the national liberation struggle" as complex. The socioeconomic crisis, Kosovo events, and some other difficulties on the one hand, and the most favorable conditions of free creation and publicizing on the other have served as a sign to some people, Bandic claims, to mount "an intensive campaign" and "actions to call into question, even to bring into a crisis, that which is stable and which seemed to us as something that nobody could endanger--either by surprise or in any other way--namely, the spiritual, ideological, essential foundations of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities." This attack in the fields of ideology, literature, and historical science, these "completely overt attempts to discredit and destroy all the most important things that had been created in the revolution, seem to be reaching a certain culmination during these very months and days," Bandic says and expresses the hope that "a more resolute opposition to this invasion of reactionary and petit bourgeois nihilism and antisocialist spirit will finally begin."

Bandic then gives several examples of that "arrogant and almost hysterical counterrevolutionary and nationalist ecstasy and impudent aggression." He cites "an illustrated magazine" asking "in a sensationalist way" why Marxism is boring, and he claims that the thesis that Marxism is boring has been circulating for several years now.

"When a Polish-American poet and essayist, a Nobel Prize winner, visited our country several days ago," Bandic continues, "our dailies and weeklies said that he was 'a famous' and 'engaged poet,' and he is, as is known, not much above a mediocre poet and besides, a classic reactionary of the highest antisocialist orientation and influence." Nevertheless, he adds, almost all SFRY papers asked him for interviews in which "that 'engaged poet' gave cynical lessons about tolerance and about what is and what is not freedom."

Bandic then mentions that "when the novel 'The Sinner' [Gresnik] and some other similar works appeared, some military schools asked this summer that lectures be held for cadets about what these books are all about and how one is to understand them." He adds that he does not know whether lecturers have been sent, but "the confusion is therefore considerable and starts touching and coming close to even some most sensitive segments of the social organism and being."

Bandic continues his commentary by giving the example of a "recently published book of conversations with an academician and author of well-known works and collections of old and 'new supplements' about Josip Broz Tito and other personalities and events of the Yugoslav revolution, '8 which gives a "list of categorization of significant and insignificant contemporary intellectuals and cultural workers." The book, Bandic says, puts among "those free-thinking, real intellectuals, and 'heretics' Milovan Djilas, Dobrica Cosic, Matija Beckovic, and some others. As the only real historians and scientists, the book mentions Dr Jovan Deretic and Dr Veselin Djuretic, the latter being, by the way, the author of the currently most controversial 'creation' about the allies and the Yugoslav wartime drama." And finally, Bandic adds, Miroslav Krleza features on the lists "among those the academician considers compromisers, sycophants, ideologically orthodox, servants of the regime, etc."

"What is involved here is not who is going to make what kind of top-ten lists," Bandic states further on and adds that what is very symptomatic is the way the "profile and real character of those only 'right' freedom fighters and cultural workers show themselves; some of them are allegedly high political officials and representatives on writers' organizations and republican party committees. These are the double and triple roles (and masks) of allegedly responsible people who create a thousand-fold damage." One must also consider the responsibility, Bandic says, of those who take part in carrying out cultural policy in the media, films, and publishing; and he gives the example of the attempt to publish Slobodan Jovanovic's collected works early this year.

"What is probably most serious and difficult," Bandic goes on, in "facing the spread, pressures, and impact of such divisions and toplists, such officials, ideas, and books--especially after a statement and explanation made by a euphorically idealized professor in the Belgrade Youth Hall that V.I. Lenin was a robber and a murderer--is to know how one is to present and explain facts about the Yugoslav revolution, its literature and culture, and its perspective, to the new, young generations."

Bandic thinks that it is not impossible to reject this pressure and adds that, as far as he could see, "the young generations are still responsive to experiences and reasonable words of the Yugoslav revolution." But the question is, he says, "for how long (among so many unsolved things) this certainty, this confidence is going to last." He points to the obligation that "the confidence be preserved through urgent, open, and critical

discussion and elimination of all that which could swing or endanger it," and concludes his commentary with a review of Yugoslav revolutionary literature during the war, a "rich production of various works and texts of diverse and uneven artistic value, but with an even and strong humane, moral, patriotic, and humanist-ethical foundation in the spirit of brotherhood and unity, revolutionary energy, and creative enthusiasm."

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CSO: 2800/86

YUGOSLAVIA

ARMY WEEKLY ON MAKING POLITICAL WORK MORE EFFICIENT

AU271324 Belgrade NARDONA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No. 2417, 7 Nov 85 p 4

[Report by Br. Miletic]

[Excerpts] After publication of a short piece of newspaper news around the middle of October--that the Military Council examined current questions of political work and the development of revolutionary traditions in the SFRY Armed Forces--first steps toward the implementation of this high advisory body's message were taken last week. Lieutenant General Metodija Stefanovski, assistant federal secretary for political and legal affairs, and Rear Admiral Petar Simic, chief of the Political Directorate of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, held a meeting with assistant commanders for political work in army regions and other large units of the Yugoslav People's Army. The meeting was also attended by assistant commanders for political work in the republican and provincial territorial army headquarters.

Although this was a usual annual discussion between the most responsible political workers from the Armed Forces, this time the meeting was anything but routine. It involved a very detailed discussion about how the stance of the Military Council should be most consistently implemented and about how political work in the Armed Forces should be updated and made more efficient.

Qualitatively Different Conditions for Political Work

Stating the reasons which necessitate the need for intensifying and updating political work in the Armed Forces, despite the fact that the moral-political situation is very good, the assistant federal secretary spent some time talking about the recently more frequent insolent and unscrupulous attacks on the achievements of our revolution. He stressed that during the economic and social crises which our country is currently experiencing, these more and more open assaults by opponents of socialist self-management and of a united Yugoslavia could adversely affect our people's consciousness and their motivation in fulfilling their tasks. This is creating the need for a constant checking and assessing of the state of ideological-political upbringing and education of the members of the Armed Forces and for undertaking measures which would make these activities more beneficial. [passage omitted]

## Every Generation of Soldiers Has Its Own Merits

In contrast to earlier times, the age of conscripts coming to the Yugoslav People's Army is 19, and from now on they will serve a term of only 12 months. However positive and socially justified these new changes are, they are imposing new obligations on the instructors. We are not only talking about the difficulties of these men in fitting into the army collectives because they do not have any experience of organized life, nor are we talking about the fact that among them there are only 7 percent who have received a higher education. Every wave of these new young people carries in itself new sociopsychological characteristics which their instructors have to take account of it they want the motivation of the soldiers' training to be of a high standard. A certain number of these young men are burdened by various petit bourgeois prejudices, and a number of them do not know the history of the National Liberation Struggle and the problems that Yugoslavia encountered during its postwar development. There are also those that are infected with the nationalism, clericalism, and separatism of the environment they are coming from. Political instruction and education mean that from these young men we ought to "make" men who would be willing, who would know, and who would be able to defend our country. All this has to be achieved in 12 months time.

It is therefore understandable why the Military Council's messages and political workers' debate insisted that literally everybody must get involved in political work and not only professional bodies within the system of leadership and command. [passage omitted]

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CSO: 2800/86

YUGOSLAVIA

SFRY MINORITIES IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES FACE ASSIMILATION

LD231508 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 23 Nov 85

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Nov (TANJUG)--History will correctly judge Yugoslavia's principle of guaranteeing full equality to all national minorities on its territory, Yugoslav scholar Radoslav Stojanovic says in INTERVJU. Stojanovic warns, however, that this humanistic principle binds on us to concern ourselves with the conditions in which our minorities in neighboring countries live.

The weekly notes that "all studies on our national minorities" were suspended in Yugoslavia in 1966 to "avoid impairing relations with the East European and southern neighbors", and that Yugoslav minorities in these countries are facing "danger of being assimilated."

On the basis of analyses of foreign archives it can be said with certainty that in Albania, for example, there are close to a hundred thousand Macedonians and some twenty thousand Serbs, Montenegrins and Moslems of Slavic origin, says Stojanovic. They live in "nationally unbearable conditions, without any rights and under terrible repression, but the world public on the whole pays no heed to it. Except for Greece which often protests against the treatment of its 300,000 nationals, nobody shows concern about them, not even we", Stojanovic says.

Under the decrees issued in 1966 and 1975, the names of all rivers, mountains and villages in Albania which have a Slavic ring to them were changed. One of these decrees says: "Citizens with unsuitable names from the ideological, political and moral standpoints, as well as with offensive surnames, must change them".

However, the nationalistic hysteria went even further. "In order to bury all trace of the existence of other nations in its territory and lead future historians astray, Albania ploughed all cemeteries where there were traces and evidence of the existence of other nations", says Stojanovic.

In Yugoslavia, however, the Albanian nationality has its own university, the only such institution outside Albania, its own TV program, a number of newspapers and magazines, a very developed publishing activity, the right to use exclusively its own language in contacts with the administration.

Along with the Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Macedonian and Hungarian languages, Albanian is the official language used in the federal parliament.

Stojanovic said the position of the Yugoslav minorities in Bulgaria was the most difficult, with the exception of Albania. Bulgaria absolutely negates the existence of the Macedonian minority, which constitutes the grossest violation of fundamental human rights. Where the Serbian minority in that country is concerned, it has probably been completely assimilated, he said.

It is considered in Bulgaria that their gravest mistake in socialism was the 1947 constitution which guaranteed all rights to minorities. Of the nine-million population of Bulgaria, 12.5 percent are members of national minorities. Stojanovic said the integration of minorities in Bulgaria started in 1956, and that chauvinism reached its peak at the Communist Party's 10th congress in 1971 when the "creation of a unitary socialist nation" was proclaimed. This was later followed by the changing of names and surnames under the guise of socialism and patriotism.

On the other hand, the Bulgarian nationality in Yugoslavia has television and radio programs, newspapers and schools in its own language.

Stojanovic recalled that 81,000 Croats, 27,000 Serbs and 6,000 Slovenes lived in Hungary before World War I. In 1930, however, Hungarian statistics reduced their total number to 55,000 but, contradictorily, registered 150,000 citizens speaking a dialect of the Serbo-Croatian language. These minorities went through major trials and tribulations after the Cominform resolution and Yugoslavia's opposition to Stalin's dictates. The resolution was seized as an opportunity for the escalation of Hungarian chauvinism so that the Yugoslav minorities were practically semi-assimilated. In recent times, although late, the Hungarian Government is "opening the door for the study of our compatriots" cultural heritage," said Stojanovic.

According to figures published in 1937, there were 56,000 Serbs and 11,000 Croats in Romania. But after the Cominform resolution, their fate was similar to that of their compatriots in Hungary.

Stojanovic, however, is confident that Yugoslavia's prestige in the world can help in seeking solutions to the problem by diplomatic means. Yugoslavia must strive for the recognition of minority rights both in its bilateral relations and in the United Nations, he said. "We must explain to all that our concern and care for our minorities is not a subterfuge for territorial claims, he concluded. [no closing quotation marks as received]

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YUGOSLAVIA

ASSEMBLY COMMISSION CRITICIZES INFORMATION MEDIA

LD270031 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT  
26 Nov 85

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)--Informing the public on the work of the SFRY Assembly this year was objective, timely, and involved. Nevertheless, there were instances in which the information media reported partially, in part because of the open work of the majority of assembly bodies. This was the conclusion from today's session of the SFRY Assembly Commission for Information Activity, which discussed informing the public on this year's work of the Assembly.

Delegates cannot take on responsibility for the fact that a distorted picture of their work is sometimes conveyed to the public, Ivana Vrhovcak emphasized. The duty of journalists is to report the discussion of every delegate and not only that which falls in with his concept of a report. Dragan Vujisic added that in some organs, "republican" themes sometimes get priority. Agreeing with this assessment, Drita Dobrosi emphasized that "dark" trends unjustifiably predominate in our information media, and this creates a feeling of powerlessness and hopelessness as regard the current situation. Dobrosi emphasized that when the press speaks about our today and tomorrow it should emphasize what unites us and point to solutions.

In the discussion of the report on the implementation of the first stage of the economic stabilization program, Aleksandar Petkovic, federal secretary for information, emphasized, the press conveyed well the relatively optimistic assessment of the implementation of the stabilization program as given by the Federal Executive Council, but later it took advantage of this to attack the Federal Executive Council as being to blame for all weaknesses.

In this way the illusion is created of the power of powerlessness of the Federal Executive Council, but stabilization, as Petkovic said, does not only mean the adoption of measures, but also the implementation of those which have already been adopted, and this is the affair of the whole community. In publications there is too much discussion of difficulties, and this affects people in a depressing way. It seems that our public organs see as good news only that which has bad content. It is time, Petkovic emphasized, for us to speak about what has been achieved--and this is not to be underestimated--as well as about what we can do together in the future.

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIA'S ASSEMBLY DELEGATES COMPLAIN ABOUT DEVELOPMENT

AU311933 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 31 Oct 85

[Text] The Federal Executive Council believes that the solving of the problem of the relative economic lagging of Serbia should not be linked to the system of stimulating an accelerated development of the under-developed republics and Kosovo, but that relief for Serbia be sought through the social development plan until 1990. The SFRY Assembly Committee for Underdeveloped Regions was acquainted with this position of the Federal Executive Council and the opinion of Serbia's delegation was also announced to the session. Olivija Rusovac reports:

Delegate Milibor Jovanovic said the letter by the Federal Executive Council to the SFRY Assembly on the problem of Serbia does not say a word about the deadlines by which proposals should be submitted, but keeps to an undetermined position. Jovanovic called the attitude of the Federal Executive Council toward the lagging of Serbia, which has been noted for five years, insufficiently responsible, and he added:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] In this way, I think, the SR of Serbia is being placed in an unequal position as regards the planning and the drafting of its own plan. The SFRY plan contains, among other things, some outline conditions and so forth for perceiving the development plan of each republic and province.

Therefore, since any specific proposals on what will be undertaken in the next medium-term plan about the slowing down of Serbia's economic development are lacking, and if there are no such specific measures, the SR of Serbia will in practice have difficulties and problems in drafting its own plan for the coming medium-term period. [end recording]

Mirko Popovic, of Serbia, recalled that the guidelines of December last year said that measures to stop Serbia's lagging should be provided by the medium-term plan. However, the draft plan has appeared without such measures which means that the Federal Executive Council had no intention of solving the problem of Serbia. All of a number of current measures applied this year to relieve the position of Serbia to some extent have been adopted at the instigation of the Executive Council of Serbia, except one adopted at the proposal of the Federal Executive Council.

Replying to an observation by Abdul Kurtejevic of Montenegro that some newspapers pay almost exclusive attention to the problem of Serbia's lagging, Mirko Popovic said that this problem is emphasized because it is a matter of lagging in a developed republic despite the political position that aid to the underdeveloped must not put a brake on the economic development of others. In the case of Serbia, it did.

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YUGOSLAVIA

MACEDONIAN LC EXAMINES SOCIOECONOMIC, SOCIAL PROBLEMS

LD112224 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT  
11 Nov 85

[Excerpts] Skopje, 11 Nov (TANJUG)--At its enlarged session today, which was attended also by Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Macedonia discussed the current questions of the socioeconomic position of the SR of Macedonia and of the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee and of the stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on these issues.

In his introductory report Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee presidium of the LC of Macedonia, listed the basic characteristics of the ideopolitical activity of the LC of Macedonia in the solution of current socioeconomic and social questions and problems in the SR of Macedonia, stressing that they are a consequence of objective economic and political developments in the country and in the world, of the development orientation of the republic and of the country as a whole and of some subjective shortcomings and mistakes in Macedonia.

As stressed in the statement on the session, Pancevski placed the main accent in the LC activity during the past period on surmounting the crisis focal points of economic instability and on surmounting some major problems which are the result of a low level accumulative and reproduction capability of the Macedonian economy, a high level of debt, especially foreign debt, a high level of price rises and cost of living and of a high rate of inflation, as well as of the illiquidity of the economy and of the banks, of huge losses and other economic difficulties.

Taking part in the discussion, Vidoje Zarkovic pointed out the basic directions of the activity of the LCY Central Committee and of its Presidium to overcome the present very complex socioeconomic problems and contradictions, stressing that economic problems and difficulties in our country are not of a short-term nature; these are long-term developments and tendencies. For this reason our strategic orientation, in Zarkovic's view, must be consistently and fully to give life to the long-term program of economic stabilization. Zarkovic added that the economic situation is

very unsatisfactory throughout the country and that it is affecting all its parts, and especially the underdeveloped republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

In Zarkovic's assessment the high rate of inflation is the key problem of the present socioeconomic situation, and one of our basic tasks and objectives during the ensuing period must be to bring it down and reduce it to a realistic level. In this connection Zarkovic stressed the need for all important measures conducive to diminution of inflation to be adopted by the end of the year. He also indicated the need that during the ensuing period the aim should be to ease the burden on the economy through concrete current economic policy measures, proceeding from the specific nature of individual associated labor organizations, branches of the economy and economic activities to accelerate the capital turnover, to establish a more efficient system of the social control of prices and remove their disparity, to provide a boost for export production and for exports themselves, to provide concrete measures to encourage income-based links and self-management integration of associated labor throughout the Yugoslav area.

Zarkovic believes that the best medicine to halt this unfavorable situation would be to adopt fast the systemic laws now being coordinated in the Yugoslav Assembly.

Unless these laws are passed on time we shall not be in a position to conduct an efficient economic and development policy next year, and neither in the ensuing medium-term period, said Zarkovic, expressing his conviction that the medium-term plan of the development of our country will be adopted by the end of the year. This plan is very important for Yugoslavia, added Zarkovic, because it must resolve the tasks which stem from the so-called second stage of the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization.

In Zarkovic's assessment the adoption of the medium-term plan, of systemic laws and other economic policy measures next year will make a considerable contribution to the solution of current and complex socioeconomic problems in our country, and especially in the inadequately developed republics and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In this context Zarkovic backed up Macedonia's orientation to resolve its existing problems primarily by relying on its own resources.

In conclusion Vidoje Zarkovic pointed out the need for the problems in all our society to be resolved much more efficiently so that at the forthcoming party congresses we can appear with concrete results and clear development concepts during the ensuing period.

The president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium also spoke of other topical socioeconomic and political questions and, in this context, especially about the LC struggle against nationalism as a platform round which all antisocialist and anti-self-management forces gather. He also spoke of our country's cooperation with the neighboring countries and of the international situation.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SETTLEMENTS OF EMIGRANT SERBS FROM KOSOVO DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1811, 15 Sep 85 pp 20-23

[Article by A. Tijanic and P. Nesic: "Emigrants from Kosovo 'Among Their Own'"]

[Text] A large number of emigres from Kosovo gathered in several centers, in the vicinity of the larger cities, in "Serbia proper." It soon turned out, however, that the newcomers, with their old habits and customs, and the natives, with their in any case numerous problems, had a hard time getting used to each other.

"These people around Kragujevac are not bad," we were told by Milislav Lukovic, a worker who moved here from Kosovo 3 years ago. "However," he continued, "they have a 'natural subconscious' that does not let them accept us completely. For that reason, they often tell me that I am a 'Shqiptar.'"

His "countryman" Aleksandar Trajkovic interprets his present position through the following view:

"In Kosovo I did not let anyone curse my Serbian mother, but by God, here I will not let anyone curse my 'Shqiptar' mother."

Naturally, not all experiences of emigrants from Kosovo are that bitter. For example, Marko Zelic, a machine shop engineer, who moved here from Kosovo in 1975, is employed at the Obrenovac power station:

"My acceptance was better than I could have expected. I immediately got a job (we spoke with him in a comfortable apartment). With 2,500 workers, I have never had any serious conflict because I had come from Kosovo."

These are only isolated fragments of our survey from four cities (Krusevac, Svetozarevo, Kragujevac, and Smederevo), through which we tried to find out what was the truth and what was the myth about the fate of the Serbs and Montenegrins who moved from Kosovo to Serbia proper in the last few years.

The immigrants from Kosovo bring with them stories according to which they are received "splendidly" in the new area, they immediately find jobs and

apartments, and at the same time they come with billions because they sold their land at too high a price. They also bring the shadow of the "organized one," the "Sicilians" -- it is claimed that if one goes into a firm, in 5 years it has been definitely taken over.

On the other hand, it is said that the immigrants from Kosovo are always lost in the new environment, not even time can cure their nostalgia, and, it is thought, they encourage a wave of Serbian nationalism through their distorted view of events in Kosovo.

At the same time, the fate of the emigrants in their new environments is beginning to be considered aloud in Kosovo:

"We know that even Serbs who move out of Kosovo are called 'Shqiptars' in other parts of Yugoslavia, which is not good," recently stated Kolj Siroka, the president of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, at a meeting of the Coordination Committee of the Pristina SSRN [Socialist Alliance of Working People] on preventing the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

#### Waves and Cruelty

In fact, the fate of the emigrants from Kosovo in their "new environment" depends a great deal upon a multitude of complex details, and one of them is the period of emigration or immigration. Two shock waves, in 1968 and 1981, marked the permanent outpouring of immigrants from Kosovo to Serbia proper. That is why the impressions of the immigrants concerning their own adjustment are often opposed:

"I moved here a long time ago," says Mijajlo Milenkovic, a foreman from the village of Stanovo, near Kragujevac. "I now feel as if I had lived here all the time; I even changed my speech, although I kept some customs."

And Slavisa Staletovic, who came from Kosovo in 1969, says that he "did not have any problems in adjusting, except for the first few years."

But the immigrants from 1981 on are much harsher:

"Who am I? Where am I from? Sometimes when we are sitting in a cafe, they comment that I am an immigrant, 'F... your Shqiptar mother,' and so a fight takes place," says Milan Radovanovic, a driver who immigrated from Mala Banjska in Kosovo.

If we ignore this year's assault by the Dedic brothers, who in the settlement of Bresnica III near Kragujevac literally beat up an old resident because he answered them that he was a "Serb" and not a "Kosovar," the largest conflict between immigrants and natives occurred on 19 August 1984 in the village of Jovanovac in the Kragujevac opstina. The village is divided into upper and lower districts; it has 150 houses of immigrants and 250 of natives.

Thus, on 19 August, at a soccer match, the conflicts previously begun were continued, with the use of sticks and chains, and a few stones. The scale of the fight is indicated by the fact that 25 militiamen took part in preserving

public order, and 2 women were also among those arrested!

Although everything began with a "quarrel among young people," it is quite well known that the village was definitely divided into immigrants and natives in connection with a disagreement over a new development plan (for the village): the immigrants preferred the idea of expanding the area planned for housing construction, while this combination was not at all close to the hearts of the native farmers.

The core of the immigrant side was the Trajkovic family from Gniljan, which had 4-5 houses in Jovanovac. The heads of the Trajkovic family, Aleksandar and Voja (each 65 years old), were partisans from the beginning and members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia since 1942.

While the natives, with name and surname, claim that "they do not accept the Trajkovices," Aleksandar Trajkovic however says that "they sometimes invite the immigrants to celebrations and weddings. And when someone dies, we go -- they do not throw us out!"

What do the natives criticize the immigrants for most, however? If we ignore trivialities like "not knowing" the language, and the immigrants' marrying only women from Kosovo (only one local woman is married to an immigrant in Jovanovac), the main stumbling blocks, from the standpoint of the natives, are a) the privileges of the immigrants in employment, based on false beliefs about their financial situation; b) the penetration of the immigrants into leadership structures; c) the "awkward" immigrant mentality. Furthermore, judging by the answers given by the natives, the reproach is made that "they should have stayed there."

But when the shells of all the rationalizations are removed, the essence of the latent conflict between the immigrants and the natives lies in the chronic shortage of jobs and apartments, and the general decline in the standard of living.

#### Sweat, Bread, and Tears

"This situation following the occurrence of irredentism is not normal, and so the immigration from Kosovo is on a large scale and not normal," NIN was told by Vukoje Mladenovic, president of the Kraljevo OK [Opstina Committee] of the SSRN. "The area is being filled up, the possibility of employment and enrollment in school is being reduced, it is harder to get apartments, parking spaces, water, telephones..."

"We did not undertake any special activities to ask the residents to give the immigrants any special treatment. We feel that there is no reason at all to have a special discussion of the problems of migration. We did not do anything to have Kraljevo became a lure for immigrants, and we are not doing anything to get anyone to go back," Mladenovic continued. "But without assistance from the broader social community, Kraljevo cannot endure the load of migrants!"

Ratko Racic, the executive secretary of the OK of the Kragujevac LC, says that

so far there have been many discussions of the problems that the immigration is objectively causing for Kragujevac:

"Kragujevac families in which both the grandfather and father were industrial workers are now in a situation in which they cannot employ their children in Kragujevac. At the same time, people from Kosovo, "the ones who do not have anything," are being employed, and after building a 2-billion dinar house, they buy automobiles. We have been forced to think not only about closing ourselves off, but also about protecting in some way those who incorporated their past work into everything that exists in Kragujevac today."

#### One School a Year

Racic reminded us that Kragujevac, as a developed region, helped Kosovo in three ways: contributions, the Federation budget, and direct investments in Kosovo by the Kragujevac economy. "Now that the people are coming here, we are investing in them a fourth time!"

"We in the Opstina Committee of the Kragujevac LC are aware that when the SIZ [self-managing interest community] for employment checked the registrations of the place of residence, it was established that immigrants had registered addresses of some institutions like churches, cafes, kindergartens, and so forth."

Petar Petrovic, the chairman of the committee for social activities of the Kragujevac SO [opstina assembly], told us that the pressure was being felt by all the health and educational institutions, kindergartens, and old age homes. "Every year we build another school in the suburban settlements. Last year we built schools in Stanovo and the Airport MZ [local community], and this year we are building another school in the Airport settlement."

Slobodan Debljovic, the chairman of the Council of Associated Labor of the Kragujevac SO:

"My opinion is that in view of the large spontaneous influx of inhabitants, especially from Kosovo, Kragujevac is losing its tradition, color, and uniqueness. Because of the spontaneous influx, the best and most educated personnel are leaving for Belgrade, and qualitatively the newcomers cannot replace them. We are not making any progress at all: we had the first pharmacy in Serbia, the first gymnasium, the first theater, the first printing house, the first factory. That is where we stayed. We do not even have a house of culture, since people are coming here who are not interested in culture. We have 5000 houses built outside the city development plan. Naturally, in such a situation the immigrants are interested above all in water, asphalt, sewers, and electricity. Now 70 percent of Kragujevac is like that..."

"You see, street fights are occurring throughout Kragujevac again, after many years. Two decades ago Kragujevac was a boxing center; in the course of development, boxing was replaced in Kragujevac by other sports, and cities like Kumanovo and so forth became the boxing centers. And now we are again in a situation in which we could become a boxing center!"

Vukoman Dramnicanin, the vice president of the Kragujevac SO Executive Council:

"There is no supervision of the construction of the suburban settlements. We call them Sevap-malas, Palestines. In Bresnica III, at every fifth house, the toilet runs out into the street, and at the same time almost all of them have trash heaps. Now we have to straighten all these crooked streets, and put the unauthorized settlements in order.

"We perceive the immigration as a nightmare and a riot. The people cannot understand this!"

"Serbian" and "Kosovar"

It seems that, judging by the statements of the leaders and the citizens polled, Kragujevac stands out for its potential for conflicts of interest between the natives and the newcomers. Consequently, our researchers devoted the most attention to it, while, for the needs of this article, they established that in Krusevac, Svetozarevo, and Smederevo "the problem of the immigrants from Kosovo" officially does not exist -- there are no major conflicts that are visible on the surface.

Kraljevo has 7.5 thousand unemployed, and Kragujevac has 10 thousand.

At the same time, we are not aware of any serious scientific study so far that has dealt with the unknown quality of the adjustment of immigrants from Kosovo to their "new environment," and vice versa.

Zoran Ognjenovic, the secretary of the OK [opstina committee] of the Kragujevac LC, thinks that the Serbian LC "is extremely well informed in connection with the problems of immigration from Kosovo (the decline in the standard of living and the complication of the political-security situation). The divisions are dangerous -- a "Serbian" or "Kosovar" origin is being raised to a general level, and so the divisions are also general ones."

It is likely that the idea of Slobodan Debljovic--"areas are not undeveloped, but people, and so the money should be in their hands"--is not an isolated one in Kragujevac.

And when a decision was being made in Kragujevac about voluntary contributions for employment, there was widespread insistence in the public discussions that "work should be given to the children of those who pay the contribution."

Also, we are not aware of the existence of any official assessment of the way in which the immigrants from Kosovo have coped with their new environment. The only thing that is known is the reasons why they left Kosovo (direct pressure, fear of pressure, economic motives).

So, someone helped them to leave. That is the only assistance that they received, since here they are on their own.

Who knows!

(In cooperation with the researchers of NIN's Research Center, Gordan Jocic, Dragan Jovanovic, Slavica Zrnic, Ljubisa Stavric, Srdjan Dragojevic, and Zoran Milicevic, under the leadership of psychologist Ljuba Stojic)

[Boxed article]

#### Figures

From 11 March 1981 to 30 June 1985, 18,903 individuals of Serbian, Montenegrin, and other (non-Albanian) peoples and nationalities emigrated from Kosovo and from three opstinas in Serbia proper (Bujanovac, Presevo, and Medvedja) to the territory of Serbia proper.

From November 1982 to July 1985, the following emigrated from the territory of Kosovo to:

Belgrade	2,796
Kragujevac	1,071
Smederevo	1,061
Nis	514
Kraljevo	451
Krusevac	442

During the same period, a total of 9,934 people emigrated from the territory of Kosovo and the three above-mentioned provinces to the territory of Serbia proper, including 8,191 Serbs, 1,064 Montenegrins, and 679 other non-Albanians.

Data: Statistical Institute of the Serbian SR. The data were gathered on the basis of residence applications.

[Boxed Article]

#### "Disappeared" and "Fallen"

The settlement of Ribnica, or "Little Albania," is several kilometers from Kraljevo. The mother of three female children, with a half-finished house with 250 square meters, who settled here three months ago, agreed to an interview if she would remain anonymous, "since my husband is a railroad worker up in Kosovo Polje, and I am here with the children."

"They asked me at the SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] why I came, why I was reporting my departure. I said that it was for better living conditions. I said the same thing here that I did there. I cannot say anything else. My family and I did not feel any pressure. But I came for the future of the children. If I knew what it would be like up there tomorrow, I would go back at once. It is not easy to leave the place where you were born and lived for 30 years to start over again from the beginning. I will die here and still

be an immigrant. We are viewed only as the people who came from Kosovo.

"What do I think when they call us 'Shqiptars'? Well, in Kosovo they say 'Serbs,' and in Serbia they say 'Shqiptars.' If I were in some position of authority I do not know what I would do to them.

"I miss Kosovo Polje. My people are there. You have ties of kinship, if you are an acquaintance, if you are a close friend. Here in this neighborhood they are from all parts, they are all immigrants. There is not one local.

"I think that it is natural for the locals to be angry. They are right. I come, I turn up with my family, and I get a job before he does. I gave notice up there. They have to assign points. If you do not have anyone, you cannot be employed. Here Buducnost [Future] and Sloga [Harmony] are opening new shops. If I do not win on points, there will not be anything."

The oldest daughter:

"I have been here for two months. I went to the city and to the pool. It was not easy at all. I made friends with Serbs, there were a lot of us there and it was great. I cried. It turned out that it was better in Kraljevo as far as departures were concerned. When I enrolled in school, the director and the teacher did not raise any difficulties. Only the teacher asked me where I had finished school and whether the homeroom teacher had been a Serb or an Albanian.

"I enrolled in the second year of specialized education in Kraljevo."

The middle daughter:

"I like Kosovo better. It was better for me there. When I grow up and I get my salary, I'm going to go right to Kosovo."

The sister and mother laugh at her.

The mother:

"We were constantly dragging things up here, little by little. And thus we disappeared. I don't even know. I will not forget when my close friend moved. There was so much crying! How much the neighbors cried. How much one old woman cried..."

We asked when her husband would finally come.

"I told him, 'How do you think we can live apart like this?' 'Like this,' he said. Only he won't stand it for long. We haven't been apart for 17 years. My husband himself has not gone anywhere. He is doing this for the children. And if by some chance we had three sons... Although I am a woman. I never had that fear of them. I was also a girl. But that was a different time.

"Regardless of where you came from, you are always afraid of a new environment. If they shout that you are a wolf, you remain a wolf. Here they

shouted that we were 'Shqiptars,' and so we will remain 'Shqiptars.'

"My father is dead. My mother is in Germany, and we bought a little house for her. The one above mine is my brother-in-law's. My husband has a mother, two brothers, and a sister in Kosovo. They have 7 hectares. They haven't sold them yet."

[Boxed article]

#### Migration as a Natural Force

"Even though the Kragujevac economy is low in capital accumulation, Kragujevac, for every dinar of accumulation invested in 'its territory,' has invested 0.4 dinars for the development of the underdeveloped republics and the province of Kosovo. It is clear that Kragujevac has contributed to and will continue to invest in the development of the economy in the undeveloped parts of the country in the future," says Kamenko Sretenovic, the president of the Kragujevac SO.

"In its postwar development," Sretenovic continued, "during one period Kragujevac brought in, in a planned and organized manner, the personnel needed by its economy, and so one could say that migration from the beginning of the 1970's was planned and beneficial, both for the immigrants and for the Kragujevac economy.

"However," he said, "we have to keep the following in mind -- the period of the expansion of the Kragujevac economy lasted until the middle of the 1970's, and was followed by a period of stagnation (1975-1979); from 1970 until today the economy has been in an unpleasant period of crisis. In spite of that, from the 1970's until today, migration accelerated, increased, and assumed the dimensions of a natural force. That is why we are talking about the negative elements of uncontrolled migration."

Sretenovic had the following data: between the 1971 and 1981 censuses, the population of Kragujevac increased by 30,000, of which 61 percent was from the spontaneous influx; during the same period, the rate of population growth was 0.9 in Serbia, 2 in Belgrade, 1 in Nis, 1.3 in Kraljevo, and 2.4 in Kragujevac.

At the same time, Crvena zastava [Red Flag], the pillar of the Kragujevac economy, must in the future reckon with computerization and the introduction of modern technology. And in 1983 3,660 people moved to Kragujevac, including 489 people who had not finished the eighth grade and 1573 unskilled workers. In 1971 Kragujevac had 1,400 illiterates, and in 1981 10,000. Today 6 percent of the total population of Kragujevac consists of illiterate adult citizens.

"It is obvious," Sretenovic thought, "that uncontrolled migration is preventing the normal development of Kragujevac, on one hand, and making the very migration of the immigrants pointless, since in the last 5-6 years the number of unemployed people in Kragujevac has been around 10,000.

"But," Sretenovic said, "since in our country there are no records kept in a single place about the financial situation of individuals, it happens that we do not have any real insight into the real wealth or poverty of immigrants, and at the same time the children of our industrial workers, the "KALDRMASA" [people who live in poor areas], because of the precise records of the earnings of industrial workers, often end up in the position of the wealthier ones; they cannot get work, although the actual relationships are different.

"Naturally, I do not mean to say that poor people are not migrating to Kragujevac.

"I think that the view that 'some circles are encouraging emigration' is nonsense, since we simply cannot offer any real chances for a solid existence for those who are planning to move to Kragujevac.

"I also think that no one is dealing with the problem of uncontrolled migration, and that there are no serious scientific analyses from which appropriate conclusions and actions would follow. I am convinced that the existing Law on the Registration of Residence and Domicile, and the Social Agreement on Employment in the Serbian SR, are ignoring uncontrolled migration.

"That is because, what does it mean for us that under the guise of freedom we move a poor person from one place to another?"

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YUGOSLAVIA

RESISTANCE TO CHANGES IN SYSTEMS ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1811,  
15 Sep 85 pp 18-20

[Article by Muharem Pervic: "Which Words Ring"]

[Text] Are we really at a dead end, or are we, surrendering ourselves to customs and habits, both national and political, frightening little children with serious and passionate words? Are the statements of the more or less "high" and "important" comrades who answer this question in the affirmative only a matter of temperament, a taste for exaggeration, or possibly a psychological tool used by the speakers to indicate the seriousness of the situation? For whom would illusions still be necessary and useful today?

But nevertheless, I am not certain that there are none yet, and that we are not yet reheating them, worn out by habits. It seems to me that the "tactic" of communicating with the public still combines unpleasant "bare" truths with illusions. After all, the manipulation of illusions, skillfully measuring them out and pouring them into the rigid and harsh everyday world, has always advanced the art of ruling and managing, i.e. it has contributed to the establishment of the desired social equilibrium. Wise people determined a long time ago that although "empty stomachs" move history, nevertheless bread is not everything, i.e. there is something in air and light! But what if one goes too far with illusions, if the promises are put off indefinitely, and the expectations, as a rule, are not fulfilled?

Shaken Faith

What is the mood of our public opinion really like today; which words, and what kind of words, if any, can still have a mobilizing effect, or do words only irritate? Haven't we been driven into a corner, and now stand concealed and silent in front of the wall? It is as if someone were to curse the wall, but one cannot speak that way, however. So how are we to say what we think without its being a "curse," and without its being neither mild and repetitive, or a new "colorful lie"? What words can we use to address our contemporaries without their passing in spite of our words as if through a Turkish graveyard, deaf to the rhetoric of their saviors?

"We have had enough of people who ruin us because they are supposedly

saviors!", Victor Hugo once cried out cynically in the French National Assembly almost two centuries ago. The people, the poet said, "have had enough of the ill-considered acts, challenges, retrogression, and stupidities that someone does because of too much skill and madness, because of too much wisdom."

When prices rise, the "declines" come in bunches! In this sense one can speak today about the decline or dissipation of political authority at all levels, although not only and exclusively of this or that authority, the source and originator of wise instructions and explanations. It is obvious that there have been significant changes in the relationship of the public, and political and public figures. "Political speech" is no longer accepted without question, and one should no longer have any illusions about this. Appeals in the style of "My Todor is alive to make a speech," or circumlocutions and evasions, like the rain around Kragujevac, today elicit unrestrained mockery and contempt. Not even the mere enumeration of already well-known facts will arouse more attention today, although it will not cause dismissal like the first type of speech.

Does this mean that the boundaries of political discourse have narrowed, or that the public can no longer act in the same "style," form, and language? The abuse of language and speech, and the schism in language and the linguistic community, suggest a rupture in social structure and awareness. Now, when we have discovered another and less ideal reality with which we are trying to come to grips, every attempt to use forms of language and speech that were fabricated a long time ago is subject to a harsh reaction. In a dialogue with Alcibiades, Socrates distinguishes two types of speech, and, turning to his interlocutor, he says, "I am not directing these words to your mask, but to Alcibiades personally..." The difficulty of saying something in a relevant, productive, and encouraging manner indicates the extent of social and linguistic disintegration, the presence of the jargon of different cliques and "games" of interests, the jargon of the "strong hand" and "iron unity" on one hand, and of panic, anxiety, concern, and breakdown, on the other. At a time when one can no longer speak of unity and Yugoslavism on the basis of the "old faith," one cannot yet perceive the motives and elements of unity in this phase of breakdown, shaken faith, and increased social concerns and uncertainties, broader liberation, but also new blindnesses that are not more innocent than those that we owe to the unsurmounted doctrines of the past. They rule our thoughts today more deeply and more actively than we are aware. We did not get into difficulties because we were in a hurry, because we were daring, "too progressive."

Would it be going too far to assess today's situation as exceptional and extreme? What kind of language is spoken in such times; what could be the style, social tactics and strategy, the recommended model for behavior and action, administration, management and self-management at a time in which one style of work, life, and administration has called itself into question, and others are not yet established, when we are witnessing "the monstrous phenomenon that the government is rejected by its own officials"?

How can we come close to decisions, and when could we expect results from social criticism, new decisions, measures, information? Before the

recantation of the critics and advocates of changes, we hope! Have we clearly realized the ways, analyzed the relations, forces, and individuals that brought us where we are today, where -- this is at least an undeniable fact -- things are tight and uncomfortable for us? Do we have to repeat both mistakes and slogans? Where are our new people for new work? And the comprehensive, united vision without which the individual jobs cannot be done properly?

#### The Shelter of the "Fundamental Values"

There are many questions, but there are more than a few of "our comrades" who think that there are questions that should not and cannot be raised. So that there will not be any confusion, these comrades usually feel that the questions that they have raised were well posed, while the "others" naturally raise superfluous questions, ones that cannot be thought about and discussed, or that should be left for better times. Discussions with these and similar prequalifications, prejudices, and rules of the game that deny those who see more and further the opportunity to participate equally in the dialogue, take a great deal of time and strength, and the results, like the discussion, are limited. We should not abandon the strategy of conducting talks under the shelter of the "fundamental values," even after so many years since taking power. In order for them to be alive and productive in every phase of social life, fundamental matters must be illuminated, interpreted, and reinterpreted once more. Analytical thought is not possible with prior exclusions and the formation of a list of subjects and issues about which a discussion is neither possible nor permitted.

In order for us to surmount, make more efficient, and critically encompass the reality into which we seem to have "fallen out of the blue," it is necessary to include analysts, interpreters, and ideologists in the critical analysis -- those who through their position in society, more than the rest, have influenced the shaping of the dominant relations, programs, ideas, types of production, methods of action, and conduct. As it is said in current ideological jargon, the subject of a comprehensive analysis is thus not only the "objective circumstances" and facts, but also the "subjective forces," including influential individuals, and especially those who wholeheartedly reproach and criticize the "state of affairs" to which they have contributed to an enviable extent, but they nevertheless do not decide, or very rarely do so, to withdraw, to abandon their posts and positions, and thus make it clear to the public that they accept their own responsibility, that they did not agree with someone and something. Going into the diplomatic service can no longer be the only "punishment" for those who were not able to "cope" with the "changed complex conditions!" Analysis of the social group whose ideas and concepts survive for a long time as the dominant ones, and insight into the teams of the prominent creators of the "directions of development," would show, among other things, how much our present views and forms of work owe to the structures and habits of the past, how much our present views and ideas are a consequence of the attempt to retain old positions, how far we have matured as a spiritual and material culture for beginning changes, for meeting the demands of the time that is pouring over our heads!

## The Debts Are Not Only Economic

It seems that we have been overtaken by the extremes between which we have dragged ourselves for the last few decades, sometimes skillfully, and sometimes, the devil knows how, in an approximate manner, or whatever happens, whatever comes to us, whatever falls! As we can see, the debts are not just economic! For example, as the other side of the coin of militant unity, built through the force of faith and unidimensional collectivism, today we have the spirit and force of separatism, nationalism, and regionalism of the worst sort: the spirit of disbelief, skepticism, and the crazed challenge of egoism and usurpation, petty bourgeoisie and robbery. Gradually, people have retreated from the empty public field or trash heap to their own haciendas, "into and under oneself," as people say. Thus in a short time social concern has passed to another, and as there have been fewer and fewer people who truly wanted and were able to take it over, social concern has passed into the hands of Alajbeg and his colleagues, i.e. the orphan has run into the wasteland. Who will guard you for me, who will protect you for me?

The devil took away the truth, and so for a time it was not known who would take care of this, on the earth or in heaven. Now, I see, we are in agreement on this, but I do not have the impression that the uncertainty about this has been completely overcome. In the midst of the impoverished and exclusive social rhetoric with its already wornout slogans, neologisms, and phrases, a rhetoric of pronounced privatism and mockery has developed. Aphorism, anecdote, parody, and jokes have flourished under the aegis of the sanctified themes and issues. The stubborn imposition by authorities who are no longer authorities or who are without any cover today has encouraged the spirit of slandering and disparaging any authority and value. In the desire to escape from prohibitions and shelters, to establish and base itself in its own work and productivity, culture has let out of the bottle the models and standards of popular and commercial culture, which have admittedly expanded the sphere of the cultured, but have also activated the extensive periphery of the uncultured, kitsch and poor taste, ignorance and primitivism. It is probably because "someone" "once," for not such a short time, called for the responsibility of the one who wanted it that now much is said about responsibility, but responsibility, adherence to principles, solidity, and worth are difficult to establish in a disrupted, vacillating, and arbitrary system of values, a system in which it is left up to you to wonder "why there are so many rich people in a poor country," or if you want it put differently, whether the wealth of individuals is related to the poverty of the state, and thus also of its inhabitants who share the fate of their suddenly impoverished fatherland.

Where, whither, through whom and what do the paths to success lead; is this known by those who are charging the gates of universities today? If they know, to what extent is this knowledge of theirs fragile, i.e. ephemeral? Wanting a stable society, speaking about this incessantly, and maintaining such complex issues as those that have been open for a long time, is no longer a matter of a democratic attitude, tolerance, and a sense of the operation of time and nuances, but rather an issue of the social order, organization, the value of social structure and mobility in the vertical and horizontal directions.

## Repeaters and History

From extreme to extreme: sometimes almost any questioning of the established order of things is rejected prior to analysis which, after all, is not close to a spirit inclined toward absolutization. Today, in principle, disputation is favored without regard even for its real historical content and validity. From the formalized concept of social hierarchy, labor discipline, we have arrived at descriptive evaluations in schools and the slaughter of directors who do not meet people's expectations! What is fashionable today is the "philosophy" of "everything is s... except p..." and the criticism of everything nonexistent as an extension of the criticism of everything existent, which unfortunately did not recognize at the right time in the existent all the elements of the crisis existing today, or did not do this at the right time and in a sufficiently persuasive manner, with those who in defending what was in existence defended their own interests and positions in the social hierarchy contributing to this. Repeating history is not recommended; the repeaters are threatened with the specter of a farce.

Now, when all of the republic, provincial, and opstina areas have been closed off, Yugoslavia is most open! What is open is the question of its future. And let us not deceive ourselves again; this is not just a question of trivial alterations, but always of fundamental truths as well. They are involved while they are alive and effective.

Sometimes we have almost not been interested at all in the way in which we say certain things. Our attitude toward words, and thus toward reality as well, has resembled "wasting water while the well dries out, or the drowning person for whom air is his last concern in the world." Why is this important today? Because today people frequently talk about the way in which discussions are conducted, about dialogue, the meaning of kilometer-long, all-encompassing reports and resolutions, letters, positions... When Queen Isabela of Spain received the "Gramatica" as a gift in 1492, she unceremoniously asked what this book was good for. "Your Majesty," an informed bishop stated, "language is the perfect instrument of empire."

The discussion of political discourse is not a question of style, or not only that. I do not believe that increased literary awareness lies at the beginning of these discussions; in misunderstandings in language and speech, distrust, and disbelief, one can perceive an insufficiently adequate and responsible attitude toward social reality. It is evident that there are difficulties in revealing its "rational core" at a higher level, without restoration and reduction, and thus also in revealing the real material, spiritual, moral, working, and creative motives of individuals and social forces at this time. In this rightly suspect and obsolete method of presentation, in which the speaker touches upon everything and covers nothing, one cannot speak responsibly about responsibility, effectively about effectiveness, or productively about productivity. I am inclined to believe that we have not yet correctly established for ourselves the right questions, not to mention answers. This "haze" in speeches and polemics obviously comes from old models and concepts, ideas and views in which the changed reality, both individual and social, remains unclear, along with the positions of the speakers. The aversion and resistance to this manner of speech and thought

are not derived from intellectualistic prejudices or the lack of a feeling for reality and time, but are rather caused by the need for change: "Cut it to fit me tight, mama," our people would say. If words are at odds with each other, this has happened because ideas and awarenesses, policies and ideologies, economies, larger and smaller segments of the community, are at odds with each other, which means that the outlines of the common social vision are coming apart.

We are competing in vain over whether we want changes or not; the changes have already taken place. People have changed, and thus also something that we would not want to have changed. The leaders have also changed, even those who are more or less formally changing their functions. The country's political and economic system is not functioning in the way that we planned. Consequently, there are not even any Bairams anymore... And the later we adjust our "laws" and "norms" to what has already happened, the worse it will be for us. Church dates in the socialist calendar are not enough for us to create a true picture of social reality. It is essential for us to supplement this picture with the history of the great errors, mistakes, and blunders. There is nowhere to go; what we want to be true is not true! With this logic, politics, the economy, and morality end in a dead end. If we lose our feeling for meaning (order, creation, life), then this is not just a matter of individuals, but also of the accumulated antagonisms and contradictions in the community, in which for a long time we have not been able to articulate more profoundly social conditions, relations, motives, and goals; in a word -- a stimulative critical philosophy of man, life, and work.

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#### IMPLICATIONS OF MEMOIRIST LITERATURE ADDRESSED

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[Article by Milorad Vucelic: "Who Remembers What and Why"]

[Text] The appearance of memoirist works about the wartime and postwar periods in our country has not and is not taking place without shocks and nervousness. Memoirs and pieces like them have been bitterly challenged and attacked, praised and overpraised; they have received public recognition (NIN's award), they have been dramatized and put on the stage, they have received political labels and have been assessed reasonably, they have aroused ideological counteroffensives, they have been the occasion for "round tables," and so on.

Recently, some sort of dominant tone has been given to our memoirist and similar feuilletonist literature by the memoirs, statements, testimonies, or books of former intelligence officers, policemen, prosecutors, and investigators. Judging by our more recent memoirist-journalistic literature, and the public disputes in connection with it, there exists a sort of parallel police and intelligence history that has its own laws and its own logic.

The affairs and actions that were cruelly brought up, opened up, and indicated a few years ago by Vladimir Dedijer in his second volume of "New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito" are becoming outlined more and more completely. What could have appeared fantastic to us is already becoming probable now. Policemen, UDB men, and investigators, for a long time now the heroes and main heroes of the prose of Antonije Isakovic, Mirko Kovac, Mladen Markov, Branko Hofman, and Igor Torkar, or of the films of Zivojin Pavlovic and Emir Kusturica, seem to have decided to pass from literature and film into history and to demonstrate their importance in it as well. For the time being, to be sure, only up to the Fourth Brioni Plenum and the replacement of Aleksandar Rankovic. Will they stop there, or will the members of our police and intelligence services also try to continue to prove their important and almost critical role in modern political events?

It is undeniable that these police-spy-intelligence discoveries and interpretations of history range from the (un)necessary relativization or reinterpretation of some historical facts, to the creation of new and

obstinate mystifications. It is likewise undeniable that this is very often a question of the obvious mouthpieces of various political platforms and concepts, the purposes of which are also served by various "discoveries" and interpretations. It should perhaps be said that some of these concepts are current, while some of them have been convincingly defeated historically, but are still present. Naturally, this is not just a question of some sort of gossip, but rather very much more serious backgrounds.

#### Who Saved Tito?

According to some statements, notes, interviews, and books, one could, for instance, receive the impression that Josip Broz Tito was put at the head of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia by a secret agent (and revolutionary), Josip Kopinic Vazduh, and that his power and life were then guarded and saved, as if by some guardian angel, by a man who was also an intelligence officer and "the head of the police in Croatia" (and furthermore a revolutionary) -- Ivan Krajacic Stevo.

In the interviews he gave to NEDELJNI VJESNIK (on 28 October, 4 November, and 11 November 1984), Ivan Krajacic Stevo said:

"And when in 1966 there was that famous case of eavesdropping on the telecommunications of the President of the Republic, I sent experts from Zagreb to eliminate the possibility of such an activity. What I had been arguing for years, namely that we should have equally expert people outside the federal police as well, was thus shown to be correct.

"Let us clarify this. You see, I was able to send, illegally, a pair of experts employed by the RSUP [Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs] to Belgrade by plane, at night. One of them was at the same time a pilot as well. They did their work and completed their assignment. Thus, the experts from the republic internal affairs bodies were welcomed, they were welcomed by both the party and society. On the basis of this, the Fourth Plenum of the LCY Central Committee also gained a clearer picture of the full scope of cases of eavesdropping than it would have had without the findings that these experts of ours also obtained about the abuses by some services."

In addition to this, Krajacic also says the following: "In order for the Fourth Plenum to be able to end as it did, it had to be held in Brioni... And I have to say that I was very satisfied with the sequence of events at the Fourth Plenum. I thought that it would be more difficult, but it was easier than we had assumed.

"For the sake of security, Tito changed the usual route to Brioni that time. He went by a roundabout route. For full security -- which Stevo took care of."

Among other things, it may perhaps be interesting that at that time Krajacic, according to his official biography, which is published on the same page of VJESNIK, was not the minister of police or the head of overall security, but the president of the Croatian Assembly!

Otherwise, taking things as a whole and judging by various statements and memoirs, there is almost no contemporary memoirist and former police or party official who did not have a conflict with Aleksandar Rankovic. And that is beginning as early as 1948 and continuing from then. And nothing happened to any of them, and none of them supported Rankovic. It turns out that he was an extremely restrained, tolerant, mild, and democratic person, without any particular authority, influence, or power.

#### Everyone Against Rankovic

At one time, to put it mildly, real astonishment and laughter were aroused by Ivan Supek's fantasy, in which he described the way that Rankovic persecuted him because he did not want to make an atom bomb, and even chased him in a car down Balkan Street in Belgrade. Supek ran to the railroad station, hid in a train, and left for Zagreb!

Stevo Krajacic, for example, "mentioned Rankovic three times, saying that it would be good for him to be released from a certain office (president of the SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] of Yugoslavia), and to be relieved of numerous duties": "I felt, and I will always feel, that it is not good for individuals who are not very stable personalities (and who are furthermore under the influence of certain circles, in this concrete case Greater-Serbian ones) to have too many responsibilities."

Jakov Blazevic, in the already famous POLET interview (8 February 1985) in which he said that Vlada Popovic was incompetent, that Rade Zivic was a "petty Gestapo agent," and that "he came to Lika from some Belgrade spy underground in order to form a line," quarreled with Rankovic, mostly without any bad consequences, even when he was the public prosecutor in Croatia:

"... At a conference of Yugoslav prosecutors, I said that internal affairs were being corrupted. Arresting everybody, going into apartments, and even having it said that they were sleeping with the wives of those arrested, and so forth. I said, 'Where will we be if the good people and personnel in internal affairs are corrupted, as certain ones have been corrupted?' I got into a conflict with Stevo Krajacic, who at that time was the minister of internal affairs in Croatia. He screamed at me, and shouted that his people were working day and night and had to relax a little. Jevto Sasic, a good man, and at that time Rankovic's assistant, told Rankovic what I had said. And Rankovic arranged an investigation of me and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia. All of this went all right, since Marko Belinic was on that commission, I don't know by what chance..."

"You see, this was what... In fact two lines and two policies. Whether the working class, the party, and all possible legislative and other bodies had the power, or whether the executive and internal affairs bodies had the power. And that was what ruined Rankovic at the Brioni plenum. That is right. He had organized his own state, his own policy, his own personnel, and so forth."

Marko Belinic, in the just published book "PUT KROZ ZIVOT" [Paths Through Life], in the chapter "The Paths Diverge," describes how he had a conflict

with Rankovic in 1964 over the construction of the Vis island monument and the destruction of the Orthodox church on the same island:

"Comrade Tito called us," Belinic continues, "to Vanga on 17 July 1964 to inform him whether everything was all right with the Vis island commemorative monument... We presented him with all the photographs, and Jovanka Broz was present. Tito was satisfied with everything, but when he read the text that would be carved on the stone, he thought about it, and I remembered that he had noticed that something had been left out of this extract from his speech. I therefore addressed him and said:

"The "Chetnik Draza Mihailovic" was not carved because Marko insisted that that not be done.'

"Tito raised his head, looked at the three of us, and said, 'Let it be like that.'

"Marko's behavior toward me continued to be worse and worse, and I did not behave any better toward him. I realized that our paths were seriously diverging."

On the basis of these and numerous similar statements and memories, it seems that either consciously or unconsciously, he wants to create the impression that almost everyone quarreled with Rankovic, and that only Tito supported him.

#### Who Is Lying?

In the famous "New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito," Vladimir Dedijer raised several issues, including the problem of Kerestinac, i.e. the organization of the unsuccessful escape and tragic death of some of the best Yugoslav communists, as well as the case of Andrija Hebrang, along with the intelligence work of Josip Kopinic Vazduh and Ivan Krajacic Stevo. Dedijer thus asserted that since 1936 Krajacic had been a Soviet secret agent "associated with the political intelligence service headed by Beria," and that "when Srebrenjak-Antonov was arrested in Zagreb in February 1942, Krajacic received an order from Moscow that in addition to his own work, he was also to agree to carry out assignments for the Soviet military intelligence service." All of these statements were also confirmed by a book by Vjenceslav Cencic (a former security officer), "The Kopinic Enigma."

Krajacic reacted to these statements by calling them the "lies of the agents of who knows whose interests."

The public at large is aware of at least the main features of the polemics about the above-mentioned book by Cencic, and the problems that it brings up again.

This discussion was recently fired up again by intelligence officer Milenko Doder in an interview by START (29 July 1985), which was at the same time an announcement of his book "Kopinic Without Enigma." Doder thinks that Josip Kopinic "was never any sort of great secret agent," and that "his

intelligence activity is rather problematical."

"I think that Kopinic is deceiving himself in this respect as well. Knowing the German radio intelligence service -- and it was one of the most competent that the world had known until that time -- I cannot believe that Kopinic's radio station could have remained unnoticed and undiscovered."

It is noticeable that Doder, instead of more tangible evidence, uses "arguments" in the style of "I think," "I cannot believe," and "I believe." In an interview by POLET (19 July 1985), Petar Strcic, director of the Croatian Archives, expresses his disagreement with Doder and feels that Josip Kopinic "must have been a big wheel in the spy world," but he agrees wth Doder in emphasizing the following:

"We have discussed the problem of Kopinic for a long time in expert circles. We have thus known for a long time that a Kopinic could not have deceived the German intelligence service, which at that time was the strongest in the world, for four years... You know, it is impossible that they could not have discovered one normal relay in Zagreb.... The view that my colleagues and I reached, and which Doder has now stated in public, is that the Germans permitted this. They listened and broke the code, since Kopinic, as an important spy, was a contact point for the Balkan communist parties and some of the Central European ones, and it was in their interest to monitor him.

"The Germans benefited from this, but they let some discoveries go, waiting for some greater results and benefits. All of the intelligence services in the world do this."

Without taking a particular stand and without going into the very heart of this problem, we should comment that the obvious fascination with the German intelligence service and its skill may be an illustration and a symptom of an unacceptable vision that views history as controlled and blocked, without many prospects and possibilities for change and for breaking through various police and spy controls.

The author of the book "The Kopinic Enigma," Vjenceslav Cencic, spoke up in POLET on 23 August 1985, and answered not only Strcic, but Doder as well:

"Strcic, Academician Pavle Saric is still alive, and I think that he is competent to confirm my claim, and also Kopinic's, that the Germans did not decipher a single dispatch from Kopinic, nor the dispatches that Tito sent in the same code to Moscow.

"What was it that the Germans were waiting for, as you said, Strcic, what great 'results,' that kept them from revealing that they were deciphering the dispatches from Kopinic and Tito?

"Why did they 'let go' what they found out? Isn't it clear even to a small child today that the Germans did everything they could to destroy our revolution and to catch Tito alive? But you see, Strcic, they did not succeed.

"Do you really not see now that you are mistaken?"

#### Something New About Kerestinac

In the conversations already mentioned, both Doder and Strcic referred to the tragedy in Kerestinac, and Doder stated the following claim: "What Kopinic did with Kerestinac is equivalent to a crime." In response to this Cencic tells him (furthermore urging the editors of POLET to "ask Strcic what he was from 1969 to 1971 and what party he served"):

"I am doing this because I want to know the full truth, since how could I interpret Ognjen Prica, or rather his answer to his wife Ada, her sister Maca, and Ferdo Persoljo:

"I have already told Ada and your wife Marija (Ada's sister), and I am now telling you, Ferdo, nothing will come of escaping! The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia is against escaping and such an action!"

But you see, Strcic, on that day about 20 prisoners in Kerestinac could have escaped, and they included Adzija, Prica, Kersovani, Cesarec, and others. Instead of escaping, they, along with the two drunken guards provided by Ferdo Persoljo, get drunk in the Lavica restaurant in Samobor and return to Kerestinac.

"Investigate that, Strcic, or how Cesarec was tried in secret, or who was the one who prohibited the escape of the camp inmates from Kerestinac. These should be your topics..."

#### Rehabilitation of Hebrang?

Milenko Doder, continuing his conversation, also referred at some length to the case of Andrija Hebrang, commenting that "none of us goes along with any alleged rehabilitation of Andrija Hebrang, as people are attempting to spread here and there." Doder feels that Kopinic arbitrarily accused Hebrang of being an "Ustasa and Gestapo agent."

Doder moreover asserted that "our services conducted a thorough reconstruction of the work of the Gestapo, and Hebrang did not appear there." Zivorad Mihajlovic Silja (writer, journalist, and former UDB officer) responded to this in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA (23 July 1985), asserting that Hebrang did appear in the above-mentioned analyses: "Hebrang met several times with (German) General Horstenau." These are obviously documents that for the most part are not available to either political scientists or historians -- especially the latter.

Vjenceslav Cencic again participated in the polemics in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA:

"Doder, try to find a document -- as you said yourself, everything is available -- who met on 17 April 1941 in Zagreb with Budak, Lorkovic, and later with D. Kvaternik. When you read this, publish it, and do you know, Doder, this document was also initialed and approved by Pavelic himself. It will be clear to you and the Yugoslav public who wanted to found the KP of the

NDH [Independent State of Croatia] and why."

Finally, it is perhaps worthwhile to recall a letter from Vladimir Bakaric to NIN. This is a letter that was published in our newspaper on 2 June 1972, in which Bakaric, as an undeniably qualified witness, explicitly calls Hebrang a "recruited Ustasa agent." It is also known that at one time Josip Vrhovec, and recently Milutin Baltic as well, responded to these discussions about Hebrang, and particularly to the thesis contained in Kopinic's statement to Vladimir Dedijer that "Even today, Hebrang has powerful protectors who will not allow the truth about him to be written, and who want to rehabilitate him!"

#### The Mickovic Affair

Another characteristic is also noticeable -- the memoirs are coming closer to our times. For example, Marko Belinic, in the above-mentioned book "Path Through Life," also writes about the "Mickovic affair," which was in a way a precursor of the well-known and hushed-up scandal involving the Belgrade association of journalists. Being one of the participants in that affair, Belinic gives his own interpretation, according to which in the middle of 1968 VJESNIK and VJESNIK U SRIJEDU conducted a "campaign more against Stevo (Ivan Krajacic) and me, and less against REPUBLIKA and Mickovic." Belinic does not mention the problems of honorariums and money, but speaks about the contents of the books he published and says the following:

"Soon everything became clear. Tripalo needed to smear me in the eyes of the public, since he was sure that I would be against what was being prepared in Croatia, and which the veterans' organization, of which I was the president, would never accept. He thought that he would discredit me in the press and thus force me to resign my post as president of the Croatian SUBNOR."

Both Krajacic and Belinic resigned, while Krajacic, in contrast to Belinic, also resigned as a member of the Central Committee. Belinic concludes:

"This campaign and its goal were exposed in Karadjordjevo.

"During the time when he was still secretary of the Zagreb City Committee, at a Plenum, Miko Tripalo attacked the 'old cadres,' calling them untrained for the 'new times.' There was a sharp confrontation then between him and me...

"There is also something characteristic of the 'Mickovic affair.' Mickovic was arrested; I will not go into why he was arrested, and I will leave this to those who know. Mickovic 'escaped' from prison, and after his escape he spent three days traveling to Zagreb in a white Mercedes. In spite of that, he was not arrested. Furthermore, he crossed the border in the same automobile, without being stopped anywhere."

#### "Detective History"

In thinking about the greater portion of these latest discussions and explanations, "revelations" and revelations in connection with some of our more modern political and historical events, we cannot rid ourselves of the

impression that these are interpretations that can be termed "history through a keyhole" or "detective history." Above all, a characteristic of such explanations is the fact that historical trends as a whole escape them. They are often completely enslaved by details, or they focus exclusively on certain facts or events. The explanations of these authors also usually have a narrower outlook because of the intention of justifying themselves and showing themselves in a better light. The authors of such explanations often (and for the most part) also lack a historical education and a somewhat more precise attitude toward documents and facts. Naturally, this applies in full measure to the interpretations that are too tendentious and strive to establish their own portrayals as sacred and the only true ones.

In adhering to a principled observation concerning the need for the stories of all the witnesses and participants in historical and political events, we feel that one should nevertheless bear in mind that various statements are very often a sort of direct interference in modern political conditions and political life, and perhaps the main thing for us is that it is possible for many phenomena to be directly available to certain political orientations and broader historical concepts.

Furthermore, an idea is sometimes created that there can be no historical truth without spies and intelligence agents, police dossiers and their truth. The creation of the idea and the enthroning of the "truth" about the omnipotence of intelligence services, experts, and the police, really lead in principle to a mistaken and untenable picture of history, which has a gloomy and discouraging effect, sowing general apathy and a lack of confidence in the key movers of history -- the people and classes, and above all man.

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NOVI SAD FACULTY MEMBERS CONDEMN PROFESSOR'S ARTICLE

LC Meeting

LD202311 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT  
20 Nov 85

[Text] Novi Sad, 20 Nov (TANJUG)--At a meeting of the LC basic organization the majority of professors and students at the Institute for Philosophy and Sociology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad condemned the text entitled "Let Us Reconcile Friends--The Enemies are Appeased" [Pomirimo Prijatelje--Neprijatelji su Smirenji] written by Dr Dragoljub Petrovic and published in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE.

It was noted in the debate that in his pamphlet Dr Petrovic equates the morals of the revolutionary with the morals of the Chetnik, the Ustasha, and the followers of Nedic, in his search for arguments in support of his thesis on reconciliation with the enemy. Many speakers emphasized that they would never put their signature to such a text which is confused and ideopolitically unacceptable, and was written with the intention of slandering, by generalizing, both the National Liberation War and the revolution, and the people's government after liberation.

It was seen as strange, however, that despite everything the party organization considers that Petrovic need not be removed from the faculty. They say they "condemn his text, but not him as a professional and a lecturer."

Professor Sentenced

LD031519 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT  
3 Dec 85

[Summary] Novi Sad, 3 Dec (TANJUG)--Under article 289 of the offenses law of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Novi Sad municipal magistrate today sentenced Dr Dragoljub Petrovic, full-time professor at the Novi Sad Faculty of Philosophy, to 60 days in prison. The request for the criminal proceedings against Professor Petrovic were submitted by the Belgrade City Secretariat for Internal Affairs for his article entitled

"Let us Reconcile Friends--Enemies are Appeased" [Pomirimo Prijatelje--Neprijatelji Su Smireni"] published in issue 696 of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE of 15 October 1985 in which he insulted and devalued socio-political organizations and the socialist and patriotic feelings of citizens.

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CSO: 2800/86

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

BAJRAMI EXPelled FROM KOSOVO LC--Prisitna, 25 Nov (TANJUG)--Following a proposal by the Presidium of the Titova Mitrovica LC Municipal Committee, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee expelled Jetus Bajrami from the highest party forum in the province. Explaining this decision, it said that Bajrami had been passive as a member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and delegate of the socio-political chamber of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia. His opportunist attitude, inconsistency and lack of readiness to work on overcoming problems [words indistinct] particularly during the Trepca mine work stoppage where he is employed. [words indistinct] is said that he was one of the main participants in organizing the stoppage on 13 [word indistinct] this year. The LC Municipal organization will determine Bajrami's responsibility. An initiative has also started to recall him from duty as a delegate in the socio-political chamber of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 25 Nov 85 LD] /9738

ENVOY TO IRELAND--Irish President Patrick Hillery received in Dublin today Mitko Calovski, our country's newly appointed ambassador, who presented his credentials. During a friendly conversation, Hillery stressed that he was very pleased at the successful development of relations between the two countries and laid particular emphasis on the need for continued efforts to develop bilateral cooperation and the economic one, in particular. Ambassador Calovski also had a brief meeting with the Irish Prime Minister, Garret Fitzgerald, and was received by the Foreign Affairs Minister, Barry. They exchanged views about the new Yugoslav-EEC trade agreement. [Text] [Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 85 LD]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO CSSR--Belgrade 13 Nov (TANJUG)--By a decree of the President of the SRRY Presidency, Dusan Rodic, hitherto assistant federal secretary for external affairs, has been appointed the SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the CSSR. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 13 Nov 85 LD] /9738

TU 'DECISIVELY AGAINST' INCOMES FREEZE--Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)--The freezing of personal incomes would mean the freezing of injustice. If anyone even dreams about such a possibility, I must say that the union would be decisively against it--this was stated by Lazar Djordjic, president

of the Central Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, in his talk with journalists. The journalists centered their attention mainly on questions relating to the preparations for the 9th Congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. The meeting of the Central Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, which is scheduled for 6 November, will adopt draft congress documents which will virtually mark the beginning of the most direct activity in the preparations for the highest gathering of trade unions. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 85 p 1 AU] /9738

UN LAW-OF-THE-SEA RATIFIED--Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)--The Assembly of Yugoslavia today ratified the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea which, practically recognizes natural resources in the ocean bed as a common heritage of mankind. Under the convention, exploitation of the international sea-bed will be supervised solely by a common body, the International Sea-Bed Authority. Significantly, the convention is designed to take care of the interests of land-locked countries too--those among them which join it will acquire access to the sea and will be able to exploit the international ocean bed. Yugoslavia's ratification of the convention will have a strong impact on the international community, developing countries in particular, Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said. The convention, which is the common goal of most countries of the world, has namely been opposed by a number of countries for years. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 27 Nov 85 LD] /9738

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